

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

BY
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AND
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With a Special Introduction by
SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER

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SYDNEY
1949

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First Printing, February, 1946
Second Printing (Paper Edition), June, 1946
Third Printing (Paper Edition, September, 1946
Fourth Printing (Pocket Edition), June, 1947
Australian Edition, May, 1949
Australian Edition, Reprint, July, 1949

None of the incidents or dialogue in *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia* has been invented by the authors. The material has been drawn from various documentary sources which are indicated in the text or listed in detail in the Bibliographical Notes contained in the previous editions of this book.

Wholly set up and printed in Australia by The Pinnacle Press,
Hume Highway, Bankstown, for the Publishers, Current Book
Distributors, Sydney.

Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a ~~doc~~

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INTRODUCTION

I DO NOT KNOW of a greater contribution which has been made to world peace through better international understanding of Russia, her present as influenced by her past, than Albert E. Kahn and Michael Sayers have made through their great book, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*.

If there can be real understanding between Russia on one hand, Great Britain and the United States on the other, there can be a true lasting peace. We of the Western world know our own past and see it in terms of our own experience, of course. But so few of us know what has been the experience of the people of Russia and, therefore, most of us do not realize why they happen to have their present opinions.

What the authors of this book have done is to take the period beginning with the Revolution in Russia and let us see the world a bit through Russia's experience. In short, they have bestowed the rare gift for which the poet Burns yearned by letting us see ourselves as the Russians see us—out of their experience.

A continuation of the disastrous policies of anti-Soviet intrigue so vividly described in this book would inevitably result in a third world war. That is why this book should be read and studied by all those eager to see peace durably established in the world. This work is required reading for every American and British statesman, and, for that matter, required reading for every citizen of both countries.

Surely, if the major nations and peoples of the earth can look upon each other with sympathy and genuine understanding, we have the brightest hope for an enduring peace mankind has ever had in its heart.

All of us are debtors to Mr. Kahn and Mr. Sayers for their telling us this story containing so much of pathos and tragedy.

CLAUDE PEPPER

June, 1946

United States Senator from Florida

BOOK ONE:

Revolution and Counterrevolution

CHAPTER ONE

The Rise of Soviet Power

1. MISSION TO PETROGRAD

In the midsummer of the fateful year of 1917, as the Russian revolutionary volcano seethed and rumbled, an American named Maj. Raymond Robins arrived in Petrograd* on a secret mission of the utmost importance. Officially, he travelled as Assistant Chief of the American Red Cross Division. Unofficially, he was in the service of the Intelligence Division of the United States Army. His secret mission was to help keep Russia in the war against Germany.

The situation on the Eastern Front was desperate. The ill-equipped Russian Army had been cut to pieces by the Germans. Shaken by the impact of the war, and rotted from within, the feudal Czarist regime had tottered and fallen. In March, Czar Nicholas II had been forced to abdicate and a Provisional Government had been established. The revolutionary cry of *Peace, Bread and Land!* swept across the countryside, summing up all the immediate longings and ancient aspirations of the war-weary, famished and dispossessed Russian millions.

Russia's allies—Britain, France and the United States—feared the collapse of the Russian Army was at hand. At any moment a million German troops might be suddenly released from the Eastern Front and hurled against the tired Allied forces of the west. Equally alarming was the prospect of Ukrainian wheat, Donets coal, Caucasian oil, and all the other limitless resources of the Russian land falling into the rapacious maw of Imperial Germany.

The Allies were striving desperately to keep Russia in the war—at least until American reinforcements reached the Western Front. Major Robins was one of numerous diplomats, military men and special Intelligence sent to Petrograd to do what they could to keep Russia fighting. . . .

Forty-three years old, a man of boundless energy, extraordinary eloquence and great personal magnetism, with jet-black hair and striking aquiline features, Raymond Robins was a distinguished

*Petrograd was the capital of Czarist Russia. The city, named after Peter the Great, was originally called St. Petersburg. It was changed to the more Russian form of Petrograd at the outbreak of the First World War. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Moscow became the new capital and in 1922, after Lenin's death, the name of the former capital was changed to Leningrad.

public figure in the United States. He had given up a successful business career in Chicago to devote himself to philanthropy and social work. In politics, he was a "Roosevelt man." He had played a leading part in the famous "Bull Moose" campaign of 1912, when his hero, Theodore Roosevelt, had tried to get to the White House. Robins was a militant liberal, a tireless and colorful crusader for every cause challenging reaction.

"What? Raymond Robins? That uplifter? That Roosevelt-shouter? What's he doing on this mission?" exclaimed Colonel William Boyce Thompson, head of the American Red Cross in Russia, when he heard Robins had been appointed as his chief assistant. Colonel Thompson was a Republican and a standpatter. He had a considerable personal stake in Russian affairs—in Russian manganese and copper mines. But Colonel Thompson was also a realistic and clear-headed observer of facts. He had already privately decided that nothing could be achieved by the conservative approach which U.S. State Department officials were adopting toward the turbulent Russian scene.

David Francis, the American Ambassador in Russia that year, was an elderly, opinionated, poker-playing St. Louis banker and former Governor of Missouri. He cut an odd figure in the hectic atmosphere of war-torn, revolutionary Petrograd with his silver hair, his old-fashioned high stiff collars and his black cutaway coat.

"Old Francis," a British diplomat remarked, "doesn't know a Social Revolutionary from a potato!"

But what Ambassador Francis lacked in knowledge of Russian politics he made up for in the strength of his convictions. These he derived mostly from the lurid gossip of the Czarist generals and millionaires who flocked around the American Embassy in Petrograd. Francis was positive that the whole Russian upheaval was the result of a German plot and that all the Russian revolutionaries were foreign agents. At any rate, he thought the whole thing would soon blow over.

On April 21, 1917, Ambassador Francis had confidentially telegraphed the United States Secretary of State, Robert Lansing:—

EXTREME SOCIALIST OR ANARCHIST NAMED LENIN MAKING VIOLENT SPEECHES AND THEREBY STRENGTHENING THE GOVERNMENT; DESIGNEDLY GIVING HIM LEEWAY AND WILL DEPORT OPPORTUNELY.

But the Russian Revolution, far from subsiding after the overthrow of the Czar, was only just beginning. The Russian Army was breaking up, and nobody in Russia seemed capable of stopping it. Alexander Kerensky, the ambitious Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, toured the Eastern Front making eloquent speeches to the troops, assuring them that "victory, democracy and peace" were just around the corner. Unimpressed, the starved, rebellious Russian soldiers continued to desert by the tens of thousands. In ragged, filthy uniforms they streamed endlessly through the countryside, across the rain-soaked fields and along the rutted roads, into the villages, towns and cities.

In the rear, the homecoming Russian soldiers encountered the revolutionary workers and peasants. Everywhere soldiers, workers

and peasants were spontaneously forming their own revolutionary committees, or "Soviets" as they called them, and electing deputies to voice their demands for Peace, Bread and Land! at government headquarters in Petrograd. . . .

When Major Raymond Robins reached Petrograd, hungry, desperate masses of people were spread like a great dark tide over the land. The capital swarmed with soldier delegations, straight from the muddy front-line trenches demanding an end to the war. Bread riots were occurring almost daily. Lenin's Bolshevik Party—the organization of the Russian Communists, which had been declared illegal and driven underground by Kerensky—was rapidly growing in power and prestige.

Raymond Robins refused to accept the opinions of Ambassador Francis and his Czarist friends as the truth about Russia. He wasted little time in the Petrograd salons, but went "into the field," as he put it, to view the Russian scene with his own eyes. Robins believed passionately in what he called "the outdoor mind—the thing that is common in America among successful business-men; a mind that does not take chatter; that constantly reaches out for facts." He travelled about the country, inspecting factories, trade-union halls, army barracks and even the lice-infested trenches on the Eastern Front. To find out what was happening in Russia, Robins went among the Russian people.

All Russia that year was like a vast, turbulent debating society. After centuries of enforced silence, the people had at last found their tongues. Meetings were being held everywhere. Everyone had his say. Government officials, pro-Allied propagandists, Bolsheviks, Anarchists, Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks—all were talking at the same time. The Bolsheviks were the most popular speakers. Soldiers workers and peasants constantly repeated what they said.

"Show me what I am fighting for," demanded a Russian soldier at one of these hectic mass meetings. "Is it Constantinople or is it free Russia? Is it democracy or it is the capitalist plunderers? If you can prove to me that I am defending the Revolution, then I'll go out and fight without capital punishment to force me. When the land belongs to the peasants, and the factories to the workers, and the power to the Soviets, then we'll know we have something to fight for, and we'll fight for it!"

Robins was in his element in this argumentative atmosphere. At home in the United States, a familiar platform figure, he had often debated with American Marxists: why not with Russian Bolsheviks? Frequently, Robins asked permission to reply to one of the Bolshevik speakers. In crowded factories and trenches, the broad-shouldered, dark-eyed American would get up and talk. Through his interpreter Robins told the Russian audiences about American democracy and the menace of Prussian militarism. Invariably, thunderous applause greeted his words.

At the same time, Robins was not neglecting his Red Cross

duties. His job was to get food to the starving cities. Down the Volga, Robins found immense stores of grain rotting in the store-houses. The grain could not be moved because there was no transport. Under the hopelessly inefficient Czarist regime, all transport had gone to pieces, and Kerensky had done nothing to remedy the situation. Robins proposed getting a fleet of barges down the Volga to ship the grain. Kerensky's officials told him it could not be done. A peasant came up to Robins and introduced himself. He was chairman of the local peasants' Soviet. He told Robins that barges would be made available. Next morning the grain began to move upriver towards Moscow and Petrograd.

Everywhere, Robins saw the same evidence of the confusion and helplessness of the Kerensky Government, contrasted with the organization and determination of the revolutionary Soviets. When a chairman of a Soviet said a thing would be done, it was done. . . .

The first time Robins came to a Russian village and asked to see the local government official, the peasants had smiled at him. "Better see the chairman of the Soviet," they told him.

"What is this Soviet?" said Robins.

"The workers, soldiers' and peasants' deputies."

"But that's some sort of revolutionary organization," Robins protested. "I want the civil organisation—the regular civil power."

The peasants laughed. "Oh, that! That doesn't amount to anything. You had better see the chairman of the Soviet!"

Back in Petrograd, after his tour of inspection, Robins made his preliminary report to Colonel Thompson. Kerensky's Provisional Government, said Robins, was a "sort of paper-and-consent affair superimposed on top, supported by the bayonets in Petrograd and Moscow and some other places." The real government of the country was being exercised by the Soviets. But Kerensky stood for the continuation of the war against Germany, and for that reason Robins believed he should be maintained in power. If the Allies were interested in preventing Russia from slipping into complete chaos, and so under German domination, they must use all their influence to make Kerensky recognize the Soviets and come to terms with them. The United States Government must be made fully aware of the facts before it was too late.

Robins proposed a bold undertaking: the immediate launching of a gigantic, high-pressure propaganda campaign to convince the Russian people that Germany constituted a real menace to their Revolution.

To Robins' surprise, Colonel Thompson expressed unequivocal agreement with both his report and his proposal. He told Robins he would cable Washington outlining the propaganda scheme and asking for authority and funds to carry it out. Meanwhile, since time was so precious, Robins was to go ahead and get started.

"But where's the money coming from?" asked Robins.

"I'll stake a million of my own money," said Colonel Thompson.

Robins was to be free to draw up to that amount from the Colonel's own bank in Petrograd. . . .

The main thing, said Colonel Thompson, was to keep the Russian Army on the Eastern Front and Germany out of Russia.

At the same time, the Colonel was well aware of the risks that might be involved in intervening so actively and personally in Russian affairs.

"Do you know what this means, Robins?" he said.

"I think it means the only chance to save the situation, Colonel," Robins replied.

"No, I mean do you know what it means to you?"

"What does it mean?"

"It means that if we fail, you get shot."

Robins shrugged. "Better men, younger men, are getting shot every day on the Western Front." He added after a pause. "Colonel, if I get shot, you'll get hung."

"I wouldn't be surprised if you're damned right," said Colonel Thompson.*

2. COUNTERREVOLUTION

As the chill, damp autumn winds swept in from the Baltic Sea and low, rain-filled clouds hung ominously over the city, events in Petrograd were rushing toward their historic climax.

Pale and nervous, wearing his habitual closely buttoned plain brown uniform, his eyes protruding and his right arm bent at the elbow in Napoleonic style, Alexander Kerensky, Premier of the Provisional Government, paced up and down in his room in the Winter Palace.

"What do they expect of me?" he shouted at Raymond Robins. "Half the time I'm forced to talk Western European liberalism to satisfy the Allies and the rest of the time I have to talk Russian Slavic socialism to keep myself alive!"

Kerensky had reason to be perturbed. Behind his back his chief supporters, the Russian millionaires and his Anglo-French allies, were already conspiring to remove him from power.

The Russian millionaires were openly threatening that, if Britain and France refused to take action to stop the Revolution, they would call in the Germans.

"Revolution is a sickness," Stepan Georgevitch Lianozov, the "Russian Rockefeller," told the American correspondent, John Reed "Sooner or later the foreign powers must intervene here—as one would intervene to cure a sick child and teach it how to walk."

Another Russian Millionaire, Riabushinsky, declared that the only solution was "... for the gaunt hand of famine, the destitution of the people, to seize the false friends of the people—the democratic Soviets and Committees—by the throat!"

*This dialogue between Major Robins and Colonel Thompson, as all other dialogue throughout the book, is quoted directly from documentary sources, listed in the bibliographical notes listed in the previous editions.

Sir Samuel Hoare, the chief of the British diplomatic Intelligence Service in Russia, had talked with these Russian millionaires and had then returned to London to report that military dictatorship was the best answer to the Russian problem. According to Hoare, the most suitable candidates for the post of dictator in Russia were Admiral Kolchak—who, Hoare said, was the nearest thing to an "English gentleman" he had found in Russia—and General Lavr Kornilov, the sinewy, black-goateed Cossack Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army.

The British and French Governments decided to back General Kornilov. He was to be the strong man who would at once keep Russia in the war, suppress the Revolution and protect Anglo-French financial stakes in Russia. . . .

The attempted *Putsch* took place on the morning of September 8, 1917. It began with a proclamation issued by Kornilov as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who called for the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of "discipline and order." Thousands of pamphlets, entitled *Kornilov, the Russian Hero*, suddenly appeared on the streets of Moscow and Petrograd. Years later Kerensky in his book *The Catastrophe* revealed that these pamphlets were printed at the expense of the British Military Mission and had been brought to Moscow from the British Embassy in Petrograd in the railway carriage of General Knox, British military attache." Kornilov ordered twenty thousand troops to march on Petrograd. French and British officers in Russian uniform ~~marched~~ with Kornilov's troops.

Kerensky was aghast at the betrayal. He was still being hailed in London and Paris as a "great democrat" and "the hero of the Russian masses." Yet here in Russia the Allied representatives were trying to overthrow him! Kerensky wondered helplessly what to do and did nothing.

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The Bolshevik-controlled Petrograd Soviet, on its own initiative, ordered immediate mobilization. Armed workers were joined by revolutionary sailors from the Baltic fleet and soldiers from the front. Barricades and barbed-wire entanglements sprang up in the city's streets. Artillery pieces and machine guns were rushed into position. Red Guards—workers in caps and leather jackets, armed with rifles and hand grenades—patrolled the muddy, cobbled thoroughfares.

Within four days Kornilov's army disintegrated. The General himself was arrested by the Soldiers' Committee which had been secretly formed within his own army. Some forty generals of the old regime, who were involved in Kornilov's conspiracy, were rounded up the first afternoon in Petrograd's Astoria Hotel where they were waiting for the news of Kornilov's success. Kerensky's Vice-Minister of War, Boris Savinkov, was forced from office by the popular clamor for having participated in the conspiracy. The Provisional Government wobbled. . . .

The *Putsch* had resulted in the very thing it was designed to prevent: a triumph for the Bolsheviks and a demonstration of Soviet strength.

The Soviets and not Kerensky held the real power in Petrograd.

"The rise of the Soviets," said Raymond Robins, "did the job without any force . . . this was the power that defeated Kornilov."

Ambassador Francis, on the other hand, telegraphed the U.S. State Department:—

KORNILOV'S FAILURE ATTRIBUTABLE TO BAD ADVICE, MISINFORMATION, IMPROPER METHODS, INOPPORTUNENESS. GOOD SOLDIER, PATRIOT, OTHERWISE INEXPERIENCED. GOVERNMENT WAS BADLY FRIGHTENED AND MAY PROFIT BY ITS EXPERIENCE.

3. REVOLUTION

Events were now moving with lightning speed. Still underground, Lenin had given a new slogan to the revolution: *All Power to the Soviets! Down with the Provisional Government!*

On October 7, Colonel Thompson anxiously telegraphed Washington:—

MAXIMALISTS (BOLSHEVIKS) NOW ACTIVELY SEEKING TO CONTROL ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES MEETING HERE THIS MONTH. IF THEY SUCCEED WILL FORM NEW GOVERNMENT WITH DISASTROUS RESULTS LEADING PROBABLY TO SEPARATE PEACE. WE ARE USING EVERY RESOURCE BUT MUST HAVE IMMEDIATE SUPPORT OR ALL OUR EFFORTS WILL BE TOO LATE.

On November 3, a secret conference of the Allied military leaders in Russia was held at Colonel Thompson's office. What was to be done to stop the Bolsheviks? General Niessel, head of the French Military Mission, angrily denounced the Provisional Government for its ineffectuality and called the Russian soldiers "yellow dogs." At this point a Russian general strode from the room, his face red with anger.

Major General Alfred Knox, the British Military Attache and the chief of the British Military Mission in Petrograd upbraided the Americans for not getting behind Kornilov.

"I am not interested in stabilizing Kerensky and his government," Knox shouted at Robins. "It is incompetent and inefficient and worthless. You ought to have been with Kornilov!"

"Well, General," Robins replied, "you *were* with Kornilov."

The British General flushed. "The only thing in Russia to-day is a military dictatorship," he said. "These people have got to have a whip hand over them."

"General," said Robins, "you may get a dictatorship of a very different character."

"You mean this Trotsky-Lenin-Bolshevik stuff—this soap-box stuff?"

"Yes, that is what I mean."

"Robins," said General Knox, "you are not a military man; you do not know anything about military affairs. Military men know what to do with that kind of stuff. We stand them up and shoot them."

"Yes, if you catch them you do," Robins replied. "I admit, General, I do not know anything about military affairs, but I do know something about folks. I have been working with them all my life. I have been out in Russia, and I think you are facing a folk situation."

On November 7, 1917, four days after this conference in Colonel Thompson's office, the Bolsheviks took power in Russia.

The world-shaking Bolshevik Revolution came strangely, at first almost imperceptibly. It was the most peaceful revolution in history. Small bands of soldiers and sailors marched casually about the capital. There were a few, sporadic, scattered shots. Men and women gathered in the chilly streets, arguing, gesticulating, reading the latest appeals and proclamations. The usual contradictory rumors were bruited about. Streetcars rumbled up and down the Nevsky. Housewives wandered in and out of the shops. Petrograd's conservative newspapers which came out that day as usual did not even report that a revolution had taken place.

With scarcely any opposition, the Bolsheviks occupied the Telephone Exchange, the Telegraph Office, the State Bank and the Ministries. The Winter Palace, site of Kerensky's Provisional Government, was surrounded and besieged.

Kerensky himself fled that afternoon in a fast car borrowed from the American Embassy and flying the American flag. As he was leaving, he sent hasty word to Ambassador Francis that he would be coming back with troops from the front and "liquidate the situation in five days."

At 6 p.m. Ambassador Francis telegraphed Secretary of State Lansing:—

**BOLSHEVIKI APPEAR TO HAVE CONTROL OF EVERYTHING HERE.
CANNOT LEARN WHEREABOUTS OF ANY MINISTER . . .**

Toward the middle of that raw damp night, trucks lumbered through the muddy streets, slowing down by the periodic street bonfires where sentinals stood. From out of the trucks white bundles were flung. They contained this proclamation:

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA!

The Provisional Government is deposed. The State Power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Military Revolutionary Committee, which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

The cause for which the people were fighting: immediate proposal of a democratic peace, abolition of landlord property-rights over the land, labor control of production, creation of a Soviet Government—that cause is securely achieved.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION OF WORKMEN, SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS

*Military Revolutionary Committee
Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and
Soldiers' Deputies*

At 10.45 on the night of November 7, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies held its opening session in the ballroom of the Smolny Institute, which had formerly been a fashionable academy for daughters of the Czarist aristocracy. The huge, smoke-filled ballroom, with its marble columns, white chandeliers and inlaid floor, now housed the elected representatives of Russian soldiers and workers. Dirty, unshaven, weary, the Soviet deputies—soldiers with the mud of the trenches still on their uniforms, workers in their caps and black crumpled suits, sailors in their striped sweaters and small, round beribboned hats—listened tensely as the members of the Central Executive Committee arose one after another to speak from the tribune.

The Congress lasted two days. A vast roar and tumult broke out on the evening of the second day as a short, stocky man in a baggy unpressed suit stood up on the platform, his bald head gleaming, a sheaf of papers in his hand . . .

The uproar lasted several minutes. Then, bending slightly forward, the speaker said: "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!"

The speaker was Lenin.

The Congress went on to form the first Soviet Government—the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

4. NONRECOGNITION

The morning after the Soviet Government was formed, Ambassador Francis cabled to Washington his opinion that the life of the new Soviet regime would be a matter of days. He urged the State Department not to recognize the Russian Government until the Bolsheviks had been overthrown and their place taken by "patriotic Russians." . . .

That same morning, Raymond Robins entered the office of Colonel Thompson at American Red Cross Headquarters in Petrograd.

"Chief," said Robins, "we've got to move fast! This idea that Kerensky is going to build up an army somewhere, that the Cossacks are coming from the Don and the White Guards coming down from Finland, is all bunk! They'll never get here. There are too many

peasants with rifles in between! No, this group that's running the show at the Smolny is going to run it for quite a while longer!"

Robins wanted permission from his chief to go out to Smolny right away and have an interview with Lenin. "These folks are kindly worthy people in the main," said Robins, referring to the Bolsheviks. "Some of us have been in politics and dealt with American political bosses, and if there is anyone more corrupt or worse in Smolny than some of our crooks, then they are some crooks, that's all!"

By way of reply, Colonel Thompson showed Robins orders he had just received from Washington. He was to return at once for consultation. Personally, he agreed with Robins that the Bolsheviks represented the masses of the Russian people, and when he got back to America, he would try to convince the State Department of this. Meanwhile, Robins, promoted to the rank of Colonel, was to take over as Chief of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia. Colonel Thompson shook hands with his former assistant and wished him good luck. . . .

Robins wasted no time. He drove out to the Smolny and asked to see Lenin.

"I was for Kerensky" said Robins frankly, "but I know a corpse when I see one and I regard the Provisional Government as dead. I want to know whether the American Red Cross can serve the Russian people without injury to our national interests. I am against your domestic programme, but it is none of my business what happens in domestic Russia. If Kornilov, or the Czar, or anyone else had the power I would be talking to him!"

Lenin took an immediate liking to the dynamic, outspoken American. He tried to explain to Robins the character of the new regime.

"They say I am a dictator," Lenin declared. "I am for the moment. I am a dictator because I have behind me the will of the mass of the peasants and workers. The moment I cease to do their will, they will take the power from me, and I would be as helpless as the Czar."

As for the economic aspects of Soviet rule Lenin went on. "We are going to challenge the world with a producers' republic. We are not putting in the Soviet anybody who simply owns stock, and simply has ownership. We are putting in the producers. The Donets coal basin will be represented by producers of coal; the railroad by producers of transportation; the postal system by producers of that communication and so on."

Lenin described to Robins another essential phase of the Bolshevik programme: the solution of the "national question." Under the Czar, the multiple national groups in Russia had been ruthlessly suppressed and converted into subject peoples. All of this, said Lenin, would have to change. Anti-Semitism and other such primitive prejudices exploited by Czarism to pit one group against another would have to be wiped out. Every nationality and national minority in Russia

would have to be completely emancipated, given equal rights and regional and cultural autonomy. Lenin told Robins that the man who was to cope with this complex and all-important problem was the leading Bolshevik authority on the national question, Josef Stalin.

Robins asked Lenin what were the chances of Russia remaining in the war against Germany.

Lenin answered with complete candour. Russia was already out of the war. Russia could not oppose Germany until a new army—a Red Army—had been formed. That would take time. The whole rotten structure of Russian industry and transport would have to be reorganized from top to bottom.

The Soviet Government, Lenin went on to say, wanted recognition and friendship from the United States. He was aware of the official prejudice against his regime. He offered Robins a practical minimum programme of co-operation. In return for American technical aid, the Soviet Government would undertake to evacuate all war supplies from the Eastern Front, where they could not otherwise be prevented from falling into German hands.

Robins informed General William Judson, the American Military Attache and chief of the American Military Mission in Russia, of Lenin's proposal; and General Judson went to the Smolny to work out the details of the agreement.

General Judson informed Ambassador Francis that it would be in the interest of the United States to recognize the Soviet Government.

"The Soviet is the *de facto* government, and relations with it should be established," said General Judson.

But the American Ambassador had other ideas and had already conveyed them to Washington.

A few days later, a telegram arrived from Secretary of State Lansing advising Ambassador Francis that American representatives were to "withhold all direct communications with the Bolshevik Government." The wire added pointedly: "So advise Judson."

A second telegram dispatched soon after, recalled General Judson to the United States.

Robins thought of handing in his resignation in protest against the State Department's policy. To his surprise, Ambassador Francis asked him to remain at his post and maintain his contacts at Smolny.

"I think it unwise for you to sever relations abruptly and absolutely—that is, I mean, to cease your visits up there," Ambassador Francis told Robins. "Furthermore, I want to know what they are doing, and I will stand between you and the fire."

Robins did not know it, but Ambassador Francis needed all the information he could get about the Soviet Government for special reasons of his own.

5. SECRET DIPLOMACY

On December 2, 1917, Ambassador Francis sent Washington his first confidential report on the activities of General Alexei Kaledin, Ataman of the Don Cossacks. Francis described the General as "Kale-

din, commander-in-chief of the Cossacks, numbering 200,000." General Kaledin had organized a White counterrevolutionary army among the Cossacks in southern Russia, proclaimed "the independence of the Don," and was preparing to march on Moscow to overthrow the Soviet Government. Secret groups of Czarist officers in Petrograd and Moscow were acting as anti-Soviet spies for Kaledin and were maintaining contact with Ambassador Francis.

At Francis's request, a more detailed report of the strength of General Kaledin was sent to the State Department a few days later by Maddin Summers, the American Consul General in Moscow. Summers, who had married the daughter of a wealthy Czarist nobleman, was even more violently prejudiced against the Soviet regime than the Ambassador himself. According to Summers's report to the State Department, Kaledin had already rallied to his person all the "loyal" and "honest" elements in southern Russia.

Secretary of State Lansing telegraphed to American Embassy in London recommending a secret loan to finance Kaledin's cause. This loan, said the Secretary, was to be made through the agency of either the British or the French Government.

"I need not impress on you," added Secretary Lansing, "the necessity of acting expeditiously and impressing those with whom you talk of the importance of it not being known that the United States is considering showing sympathy for the Kaledin movement, much less of providing financial assistance."

Ambassador Francis was advised to use great discretion in his dealings with Kaledin's agents in Petrograd, so as not to arouse the suspicions of the Bolsheviks.

Despite the elaborate precautions, the plot was discovered by the Soviet Government, which was keenly alert to the possibility of Allied intervention in Russia. In mid-December, the Soviet press denounced the American Ambassador for secretly plotting with Kaledin. Francis blandly denied any knowledge of the Cossack chief.

"I am making a statement to press," Francis telegraphed Secretary Lansing on December 22, "which shall forward *en clair* denying all connection or knowledge of Kaledin movement stating your instructions are definite and emphatic not to interfere in internal affairs stating I have observed same scrupulously."

Isolated by Allied hostility, and too weak to face the massive German war machine alone, the Soviet Government had to protect itself as best it could. The most immediate menace was Germany.

To save the new Russia, and to gain time in which to effect an essential reorganization and create a Red Army, Lenin proposed to sign an immediate peace on the Eastern Front.

"We will have to conclude peace anyway," Lenin told his followers, after reviewing at length the appalling conditions in Russia's transport, industry and army. "We need to grow strong, and for this time is necessary. . . . If the Germans begin to advance, we will be forced to sign any kind of peace, only then the peace will be worse."

On Lenin's insistence, a Soviet peace delegation hastily left for Brest-Litovsk, headquarters of the German Eastern Army, to learn Germany's peace terms.

On December 23, 1917, the day after the first session of the preliminary Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference, representatives of Great Britain and France met in Paris and secretly concluded an agreement to dismember Soviet Russia. The agreement was entitled *L'Accord Francaise-Anglais du 23 Decembre, 1917, definissant le zones d'action francaises et anglaises*. According to its terms, England was to receive a "zone of influence" in Russia, giving her the oil of the Caucasus and control of the Baltic provinces; France a "zone" giving her the iron and coal of the Donets Basin and control of the Crimea.

This secret Anglo-French treaty inevitably shaped the policy these two nations were to pursue towards Russia throughout the next several years.

CHAPTER TWO

Point Counter Point

1. BRITISH AGENT

AROUND midnight on the freezing night of January 18, 1918, a handsome young Scot wrapped in furs groped his way by the light of a lantern across a partly shattered bridge between Finland and Russia. Civil war was raging in Finland, and rail traffic over the bridge had been interrupted. The Red Finnish Government had provided the young Scot with an escort to take him and his luggage across to the Soviet side, where a train waited to take him to Petrograd. The traveller was R. H. Bruce Lockhart, special agent of the British War Cabinet.

A product of the exclusive English "public school" system, Bruce Lockhart had entered the diplomatic service at the age of twenty-four. He was both handsome and intelligent, and in a short time he had made a name for himself as one of the most talented and promising young men in the British Foreign Office. At thirty, he was British Vice-Consul in Moscow. He spoke Russian fluently and was equally familiar with Russian politics and intrigue. He had been recalled to London just six weeks before the Bolshevik Revolution.

Now he was being sent back to Russia at the personal request of Prime Minister Lloyd George, who had been deeply impressed by what he had learned about Russia from the homeward-bound Colonel Thompson. Robins' former chief had fiercely denounced the Allies' refusal to recognize the Soviet regime. Following Colonel Thompson's conversation with Lloyd George, Lockhart had been chosen to go to Russia to establish some sort of working relations—short of actual recognition—with the Soviet regime.

But the handsome young Scot was also an agent of the British diplomatic Intelligence Service. His unofficial assignment was to exploit for British ends the opposition movement which had already arisen within the Soviet Government. . . .

The opposition to Lenin was headed by the ambitious Soviet Foreign Commissar, Leon Trotsky, who considered himself Lenin's inevitable successor. For fourteen years, Trotsky had fiercely opposed the Bolsheviks; then, in August, 1917, a few months before the Bolshevik Revolution, he had joined Lenin's Party and risen to power with it. Within the Bolshevik Party Trotsky was organizing a Left Opposition to Lenin.

When Lockhart reached Petrograd at the beginning of 1918, Foreign Commissar Trotsky was at Brest-Litovsk, as head of the Soviet peace delegation.

Trotsky had been sent to Brest-Litovsk with categorical instructions from Lenin to sign the peace. Instead of following Lenin's instructions Trotsky was issuing inflammatory appeals to the European proletariat to rise and overthrow their governments. The Soviet Government, he declared, would on no account make peace with capitalist regimes. "Neither peace nor war!" Trotsky cried. He told the Germans that the Russian Army could fight no more, would continue to demobilize but would not make peace.

Lenin angrily denounced Trotsky's behaviour at Brest-Litovsk and Trotsky's proposals—"discontinuance of the war, refusal to sign peace, and the demobilization of the army"—as "lunacy or worse."

The British Foreign Office as Lockhart later revealed in his memoirs, *British Agent*, was extremely interested in these "dissensions between Lenin and Trotsky—dissensions from which our Government hoped much."

As a result of Trotsky's behaviour, the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk fell through. The German High Command had not wanted to deal with the Bolsheviks in the first place. Trotsky, according to Lenin, played into the German hands and "actually helped the German imperialists." In the midst of one of Trotsky's speeches at Brest-Litovsk, the German General Max Hoffman put his boot on the conference table and told the Soviet delegates to go home.

Trotsky came back to Petrograd and dismissed Lenin's remonstrances with the exclamation: "The Germans will not dare to advance!"

Ten days after the breaking off of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, the German High Command launched a major offensive along the entire Eastern Front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In the south, the German hordes swarmed through the flat Ukraine. In the centre, the offensive surged through Poland towards Moscow. In the north, Narva fell and Petrograd was menaced. Everywhere along the front the remnants of the old Russian Army cracked and fell to pieces.

Disaster loomed over the new Russia.

Pouring from the cities, hastily mobilized by their Bolshevik leaders, the armed workers and Red Guards formed regiments to halt the German advance. The first units of the new Red Army went into action. At Pskov, on February 23, the Germans were stopped. Temporarily, Petrograd was saved.

A second Soviet peace delegation, this time without Trotsky, hastened to Brest-Litovsk.

As the price of peace, Germany now demanded domination of the Ukraine, Finland, Poland, the Caucasus and enormous indemnities of Russian gold, wheat, oil, coal and minerals.

A wave of indignation against the "German imperialist brigands" swept across Soviet Russia when these peace terms were announced. The German High Command, declared Lenin, hoped by this "robbers' peace" to dismember Soviet Russia and smash the Soviet regime.

In Bruce Lockhart's opinion, the only sensible thing for the Allies to do in this situation was to support Russia against Germany. The Soviet Government was making no attempt to conceal its reluctance to ratify the Brest-Litovsk Peace. As Lockhart saw it, the question the Bolsheviks were asking was: What would the Allies do? Would they recognize the Soviet Government and come to its aid, or would they let the Germans force their "robbers' peace" on Russia.

At first, Lockhart was inclined to believe that British interests in Russia dictated a deal with Trotsky against Lenin. Trotsky and his followers were now attacking Lenin on the grounds that his peace policy had led to a "betrayal of the Revolution." Trotsky was trying to form what Lockhart called a "holy war" bloc with the Bolshevik Party designed to gain Allied backing and force Lenin from power.

The British agent and the Soviet Foreign Commissar were soon on intimate terms. Lockhart addressed Trotsky familiarly as "Lev Davidovich," and dreamed, as he later said, of "pulling off a big coup with Trotsky." But Lockhart reluctantly came to the conclusion that Trotsky simply did not have the power to replace Lenin. As Lockhart puts it in *British Agent*:—

Trotsky was a great organizer and a man of immense physical courage. But, morally, he was as incapable of standing against Lenin as a flea would be against an elephant. In the Council of Commissars there was not a man who did not consider himself the equal of Trotsky. There was not a Commissar who did not regard Lenin as a demi-god, whose decisions were to be adopted without question.

If anything were to be done in Russia, it would have to be done through Lenin. This conclusion, Lockhart found, was shared by Raymond Robins.

"I personally have always had a question mark over Trotsky—a question as to what he will do—a question as to where he will be found at certain times and places, because of his extreme ego, and the arrogance, if you please, of the ego," said Robins.

Lockhart had met Robins shortly after his arrival in Petrograd.

He was immediately impressed by the American's forthright approach to the Russian problem. Robins had no sympathy with the various Allied arguments against recognition. He poured scorn on the absurd theory, fostered by Czarist agents, that the Bolsheviks wanted a German victory. With great eloquence, he described to Lockhart the appalling conditions in old Russia and the marvellous upsurge of the oppressed millions under Bolshevik leadership.

To complete the picture, Robins took Lockhart out to Smolny to see the new regime in action. As they drove back to Petrograd through the softly falling snow, Robins bitterly declared that the Allied Embassies, with their secret conspiracies against the Soviet Government, were only "playing the German game in Russia."

The Soviet Government had come to stay and the sooner the Allies recognized the fact the better.

The two men soon became close, almost inseparable friends. They began taking breakfast together each morning and consulting each other regarding the plan of action for the day. Their common aim was to induce their respective governments to recognize Soviet Russia and so prevent a German victory on the Eastern Front.

2. ZERO HOUR ..

The situation confronting the Soviet Government in the early spring of 1918 was this: Germany was preparing to overthrow the Soviet Government by force if the Russians refused to ratify the Brest-Litovsk Peace; Britain and France were secretly backing counter-revolutionary forces which were assembling in Archangel, Murmansk and on the Don; the Japanese, with Allied approval, were planning to seize Vladivostok and to invade Siberia.

In an interview with Lockhart, Lenin told the British agent that the Soviet Government was to be transferred to Moscow in fear of a German attack at Petrograd. The Bolsheviks were going to fight, if necessary, even if they had to withdraw to the Volga and the Urals. "If they would fight on their own conditions. They were 'not to be made a cat's paw for the Allies.'" If the Allies understood this, Lenin told Lockhart, there was an excellent opportunity for co-operation. Soviet Russia was desperately in need of aid to resist the Germans. "At the same time," said Lenin grimly, "I am quite convinced that your Government will never see things in this light. It is a reactionary Government. It will co-operate with the Russian reactionaries."

Lockhart cabled the substance of this interview to the British Foreign Office. A few days later he received a coded message from London. Hastily, he decoded and read it. The message conveyed the view of a "military expert" that all that was needed in Russia was a small but resolute nucleus of British officers "to give leadership to loyal Russians" who would soon put an end to Bolshevism.

Ambassador Francis, on February 23, had written in a letter to his son:—

My plan is to stay in Russia as long as I can. If a separate

peace is concluded, as I believe it will be; there will be no danger of my being captured by the Germans. Such a separate peace, however, will be a severe blow to the Allies and if any section of Russia refuses to recognize the authority of the Bolshevik Government to conclude such a peace, I shall endeavour to locate in that section and encourage the rebellion.

After writing this letter, Ambassador Francis had joined the French Ambassador Noulens and other Allied diplomats in the small town of Vologda, located between Moscow and Archangel. It was clear that the Allied Governments had already decided not to co-operate in any way with the Soviet regime.

At Robins's urgent request, Lenin agreed to draw up a formal note to the United States Government. He had little hope of a favourable response; but he was willing to make the attempt.

The note was duly handed to Robins for transmission to the United States Government. It read in part:—

In case (a) the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets will refuse to ratify the peace treaty with Germany or (b) if the German Government, breaking the peace treaty will renew the offensive in order to continue the robbers' raid . . .

(1) Can the Soviet Government rely on the support of the United States of North America, Great Britain, and France in its struggle against Germany?

(2) What kind of support could be furnished in the nearest future, and on what conditions—Military equipment, transportation supplies, living necessities?

(3) What kind of support could be furnished particularly and especially by the United States? . . .

On March 5, 1918, Lockhart dispatched a final imploring telegram to the British Foreign Office pleading for recognition of the Soviet Government: "If ever the Allies had a chance in Russia since the Revolution, the Germans have given it to them by exorbitant peace terms they have imposed on the Russians . . . If His Majesty's Government does not wish to see Germany paramount in Russia, then I would most earnestly implore you not to neglect this opportunity."

There was no reply from London, only a letter from Lockhart's wife urging him to be cautious and warning him that the word was being spread in the Foreign Office that he had become a "Red." . . .

On March 14, the All-Russian Soviet Congress convened in Moscow. For two days and nights delegates debated the question of ratifying the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky's opposition was out in full force, trying to make political capital out of the unpopular Peace Treaty; but Trotsky himself, as Robins puts it, was "sulking in Petrograd and refused to come."

An hour before midnight on the second night of the Congress, Lenin beckoned to Robins, who was sitting on the step below the platform.

"What have you heard from your government?"

"Nothing!"

"What has Lockhart heard?"

"Nothing!"

Lenin shrugged. "I am now going to the platform," he told Robins. "I am going to speak for the ratification of the treaty. It will be ratified."

Lenin spoke for an hour. He made no attempt to picture the peace as anything but a catastrophe for Russia. With patent logic, he pointed out the necessity for the Soviet Government, isolated and menaced from every side, to gain a "breathing space" at any cost.

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty was ratified.

A statement issued by the Congress declared:—

Under present conditions, the Soviet Government of the Russian Republic, being left to its own forces, is unable to withstand the armed onrush of German Imperialism, and is compelled, for the sake of saving revolutionary Russia to accept the conditions put before it.

3. MISSION'S END

Ambassador Francis telegraphed the State Department on May 2, 1918: "Robins and probably Lockhart also have favoured recognition of Soviet government but you and all Allies have always opposed recognition and I have consistently refused to recommend it, nor do I feel that I have erred therein."

A few weeks later Robins received a telegram from Secretary of State Lansing: "Under all circumstances consider desirable that you come home for consultation."

As he travelled across Russia on the Trans-Siberian Railroad to pick up a ship at Vladivostok, Robins received three messages from the State Department. Each of them carried the same instruction: he was to make no public statement of any kind.

Back in Washington, D.C., Robins submitted a report to Secretary Lansing, vigorously condemning the idea of any Allied intervention against Soviet Russia. Robins attached to his report a detailed written programme for the development of Russian-American commercial relations. Lenin had personally handed Robins this programme just before he left Moscow. It was to be given to President Wilson.

Lenin's programme never reached Wilson.

Robins himself tried to see the President, but in vain. He was blocked at every turn. He tried to get his message into the newspapers. The press either ignored or distorted what he had to say. . .

Robins was forced to defend himself before a Senate Committee investigating "Bolshevism" and "German Propaganda."

"If I told the truth and did not lie and slander folks, did not say that they are German agents and thieves and murderers, criminals utterly, then I am a Bolshevik!" Robins declared. "But I had the best window or outlook of any Allied representative in Russia and

I was trying to keep my feet on the ground. I would like to tell the truth about men and movements, without passion and without resentment, even though I differed from them. . . . I am perfectly willing that the Russian people should have the kind of government they want, whether it suits me, or whether it is in accord with my principles or not. . . . I think that to know what has actually happened in Russia is of the very first moment, and for us and for our country to deal with it honestly and fairly, rather than in passion or on a statement that is not true. . . . I would never expect to stamp out ideas with bayonets. . . . The only answer for the desire for a better human life is a better human life."

But Robins' honest voice was drowned in the rising tide of misinformation and prejudice.

By the summer of 1918, although the United States was at war with Germany and not with Russia, the *New York Times* was already describing the Bolsheviks as "our most malignant enemies," and as "ravening beasts of prey." The Soviet leaders were being universally denounced in the American press as "paid agents" of the Germans. "Butchers," "assassins and madmen," "blood-intoxicated criminals," and "human scum" were some of the typical terms by which American newspapers referred to Lenin and his associates. In Congress, they were called "those damnable beasts." . . .

Ambassador Francis remained in Russia until July, 1918. Periodically, he issued proclamations and statements calling upon the Russian people to overthrow the Soviet Government.

Bruce Lockhart also stayed on in Russia. "I ought to have resigned and come home," he said later. Instead, he remained at his post as a British agent.

"Almost before I had realised it," Lockhart later confessed in *British Agent*, "I had now identified myself with a movement which whatever its original object, was to be directed, not against Germany, but against the de facto government of Russia."

CHAPTER THREE

Master Spy

1. ENTER M. MASSINO

REVOLUTIONARY Petrograd, besieged by foreign enemies without and menaced within by counterrevolutionary plots, was a terrible city in 1918. There was little food, no heat, no transport. Ragged men and women shivered in endless breadlines on the bleak, unswept streets. The long gray nights were punctuated with the sounds of gunfire. Gangster bands, defying the Soviet regime, roamed the city, robbing and terrorizing the population. Detachments of armed workers marched from building to building, searching for the hidden stores of the food speculators, rounding up looters and terrorists. . . .

A certain M. Massino had shown up in Petrograd that spring. He described himself as "a Turkish and Oriental merchant." He

was a pale, long-faced, somber-looking man in his early forties, with a high, sloping forehead, restless dark eyes and sensual lips. He walked with an erect, almost military carriage, and with a rapid curiously silent step. He seemed to be wealthy. Women found him attractive. Amid the uneasy atmosphere of the temporary Soviet capital, M. Massino went about his business with a peculiar aplomb.

At evenings, M. Massino was a frequent visitor to the small, smoky Balkov Cafe, a favorite haunt of anti-Soviet elements in Petrograd. The proprietor, Serge Balkov, greeted him deferentially. In a private room at the back of the cafe, M. Massino met mysterious men and women who spoke to him in low tones. Some of them addressed him in Russian, others in French or English. M. Massino was familiar with many languages.

The young Soviet Government was struggling to bring order out of chaos. Its colossal organizational tasks were still further complicated by the ever-present, deadly menace of counterrevolution. "The bourgeoisie, the landlords and all the wealthy classes are making desperate efforts to undermine the revolution," wrote Lenin. A special Soviet counter-sabotage and counter-espionage organization was set up, at Lenin's recommendation, to deal with domestic and foreign enemies. It was called the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage. Its Russian initials spelled the word: *Cheka*.*

In the summer of 1918, when the Soviet Government, fearing German attack, moved to Moscow, M. Massino followed it. But in Moscow the appearance of the suave, wealthy Levantine merchant oddly changed. He wore a leather jacket and the peaked cap of a worker. He visited the Kremlin. Stopped at the gates by one of the young Communist Lettish Guards, who formed the elite corps guarding the Soviet Government, the erstwhile M. Massino produced an official Soviet document. It identified him as Sidney Georgevitch Relinsky, an agent of the Criminal Division of the Petrograd Cheka.

"Pass Comrade Relinsky!" said the Lettish Guard.

In another part of Moscow, in the luxurious apartment of the popular ballet dancer Dagmara K., M. Massino, alias Comrade Relinsky of the Cheka, was known as Monsieur Constantine, an agent of the British Secret Service.

At the British Embassy, Bruce Lockhart knew his real identity: "Sidney Reilly, the mystery man of the British Secret Service and known . . . as the master spy of Britain."

2. SIDNEY REILLY

Of all the adventurers who emerged from the political underworld of Czarist Russia during the First World War to lead the great crusade against Bolshevism none was more colourful and extra-

*In 1922, the Cheka was abolished and its place taken by the OGPU (the initials of the Russian title meaning United State Political Administration). In 1944, the OGPU was replaced by the NKVD, the Department of Public Security under the Soviet Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

ordinary than Captain Sidney George Reilly of the British Secret Service. "A man cast in the Napoleonic mould!" exclaimed Bruce Lockhart, whom Reilly was to involve in one of the most dangerous and fantastic undertakings in European history.

Just how Reilly first came to the British Secret Service remains one of the many mysteries surrounding that very mysterious and powerful espionage apparatus. Sidney Reilly was born in Czarist Russia. The son of an Irish sea captain and a Russian woman, he grew up in the Black Sea port of Odessa. Prior to the First World War, he was employed by the great Czarist naval armaments concern of Mandrochovitch and Count Tchubersky in St. Petersburg. Even then, his work was of a highly confidential character. He served as liaison between the Russian firm and certain German industrial and financial interests, including the famous Hamburg shipyards of Blohm and Voss. Just before the outbreak of the First World War, valuable information concerning the German submarine and ship-building programme began regularly reaching the British Admiralty in London. The source of this information was Sidney Reilly.

In 1914, Reilly showed up in Japan as the "confidential representative" of the Banque Russo-Asiatique. From Japan he travelled to the United States, where he conferred with American bankers and munitions manufacturers. Already, in the files of the British Secret Service, Sidney Reilly was listed under the code name, *I Esti*, and was known as a secret agent of great daring and resourcefulness.

A fluent linguist, with a command of seven languages, Reilly was soon summoned from the United States for important work in Europe. In 1916, he crossed the Swiss frontier into Germany. Posing as a German naval officer, he penetrated the German Admiralty. He secured and delivered back to London a copy of the official German Naval Intelligence Code. It was probably the greatest secret service coup of the First World War. . . .

Early in 1918, Captain Reilly was transferred to Russia as Director of British Secret Intelligence operations in that country. His many personal friends, wide business connections and intimate knowledge of the inner circles of the Russian counterrevolution, made him an ideal man for the job. But the Russian assignment also had a deep personal significance for Reilly. He was consumed by a bitter hatred for the Bolsheviks and, indeed, for the entire Russian Revolution. He frankly stated his counterrevolutionary aims:—

"The Germans are human beings. We can afford to be even beaten by them. Here in Moscow there is growing to maturity the arch-enemy of the human race. If civilization does not move first and crush the monster, while yet there is time, the monster will finally overwhelm civilization."

In his reports to the British Secret Service headquarters in London, Reilly repeatedly advocated an immediate peace with Germany and an alliance with the Kaiser against the Bolshevik menace.

"At any price," he declared, "this foul obscenity which has been

born in Russia must be crushed out of existence. Peace with Germany: Yes, peace with Germany, peace with anybody! There is only one enemy. Mankind must unite in a holy alliance against this midnight terror!"

On his arrival in Russia, Reilly immediately plunged into anti-Soviet conspiracy.

His avowed aim was to overthrow the Soviet Government.

3. MONEY AND MURDER

The numerically strongest anti-Bolshevik political party in Russia in 1918 was the Social Revolutionary Party, which advocated a form of agrarian socialism. Led by Boris Savinkov, Kerensky's one-time war minister who had taken part in the abortive Kornilov *Putsch*, the militant Social Revolutionaries had become the pivot of anti-Bolshevik sentiment. Their extremist methods and propaganda had attracted considerable support for them among the many anarchistic elements which generations of Czarist oppression had bred in Russia. The Social Revolutionaries had long practiced terrorism as a weapon against the Czar. Now they prepared to turn the same weapon against the Bolsheviks.

The Social Revolutionaries were receiving financial aid from the French Intelligence Service. With funds personally handed to him by the French Ambassador Noulens, Boris Savinkov had re-established the old Social Revolutionary terrorist centre in Moscow under the title of League for the Regeneration of Russia. Its aim was to plan the assassination of Lenin and other Soviet leaders. On Sidney Reilly's recommendation, the British Secret Service also began supplying Savinkov with money for the training and arming of his terrorists.

But Reilly, an ardent pro-Czarist, did not trust the Social Revolutionaries when it came to forming a new Russian Government to replace the Soviet regime. Apart from Savinkov, whom he regarded as completely reliable, Reilly felt that the leftist Social Revolutionaries represented a dangerously radical force. Some of them were known to be linked with the oppositionist Bolsheviks who followed Trotsky. Reilly was prepared to use these people for his own purposes, but he was determined to stamp out radicalism in Russia. He wanted a military dictatorship as the first step to the restoration of Czarism. Accordingly, while he continued to finance and encourage the Social Revolutionary terrorists and other radical anti-Soviet groups, the British spy was at the same time carefully building a conspiratorial apparatus of his own.

Linking up with the Union of Czarist Officers, with remnants of the old Czarist secret police, the sinister Ochrana, with Savinkov's terrorists, and with similar counterrevolutionary elements, Reilly's apparatus soon mushroomed throughout Moscow and Petrograd. A number of Reilly's former friends and acquaintances from Czarist days joined him and proved of great value.

These and other agents, who even penetrated into the Kremlin and

Red Army General Staff, kept Reilly fully informed of every measure of the Soviet Government. The British spy was able to boast that sealed Red Army orders "were being read in London before they were opened in Moscow."

Large sums of money to finance Reilly's operations, amounting to several millions of roubles, were hidden in the Moscow apartment of the ballet dancer, Dagmara. In raising these funds, Reilly drew on the resources of the British Embassy. The money was collected by Bruce Lockhart and conveyed to Reilly by Captain Hicks of the British Secret Service. Lockhart, whom Reilly involved in this business, subsequently revealed in his *British Agent* how the money was collected:—

There were numerous Russians with hidden stores of roubles. They were only too glad to hand them over in exchange for a promissory note on London . . . The roubles were brought to the American Consulate-General, and were handed over to Hicks, who conveyed them to their destined quarters.

Finally, overlooking no detail, the British spy even drew up a detailed plan for the government that was to take power as soon as the Soviet Government was overthrown.

The first blows of the anti-Soviet campaign were struck by Savinkov's terrorists.

On June 21, 1918, as he was leaving a workers' meeting at the Obuchov factory in Petrograd, the Soviet Commissar for Press Affairs, Volodarsky, was assassinated by a Social Revolutionary terrorist. This was followed within two weeks by the assassination of the German Ambassador Mirbach in Moscow on July 6 by a Social Revolutionary terrorist named Blumkin. The aim of the Social Revolutionaries was to strike terror in the Bolshevik ranks and simultaneously to precipitate a German attack which they believed would spell the doom of Bolshevism.

On the day on which the German Ambassador was murdered, the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets was in session in the Opera House in Moscow. Allied observers sat in the gilded boxes listening to the speeches of the Soviet delegates. There was an air of tension about the proceedings. Bruce Lockhart, sitting in a box with a number of other Allied agents and diplomats, knew that something eventful had occurred when Sidney Reilly entered. The British spy looked pale and agitated. In hurried whispers he told Lockhart what had happened.

The shot that killed Mirbach was to have been a signal for a general Social Revolutionary rising, backed by dissident Bolshevik elements, throughout the country. Social Revolutionary gunmen were to have raided the Opera House and arrested the Soviet Delegates. But something had gone wrong. The Opera House was now surrounded by Red Army soldiers. There was firing in the streets, but it was clear that the Soviet Government had the situation in hand.

As Reilly spoke, he was examining his pockets for compromising documents. He found one, tore it into shreds and swallowed the

pieces. A French secret agent, sitting beside Lockhart, proceeded to do the same thing.

A few hours later, a speaker rose on the stage of the Opera House and announced that an anti-Soviet *Putsch*, designed to overthrow the Soviet Government by force of arms, had been swiftly put down by the Red Army and the Cheka. There had been no public support for the putschists whatsoever. Scores of Social Revolutionary terrorists, armed with bombs, rifles and machine guns, had been rounded up and arrested. Many of them had been killed. Their leaders were either dead, in hiding or in flight.

The Allied representatives in the Opera House were told they could now safely return to their respective embassies. The streets were safe.

Later the news came that an uprising at Yaroslav, timed to coincide with the Moscow *Putsch*, had also been put down by the Red Army. The Social Revolutionary leader, Boris Savinkov, who had personally led the Yaroslav uprising, had narrowly escaped capture by the Soviet troops.

Reilly was bitterly angry and disappointed. The Social Revolutionaries had acted with characteristic impatience and stupidity! Nevertheless, he declared, there was nothing wrong with their basic idea of starting a coup at a moment when most of the Soviet leaders were assembled in one place attending some congress or convention. The thought of seizing all the chief Bolsheviks at one swoop appealed to Reilly's Napoleonic imagination. . .

He began seriously to plan to accomplish this.

4. THE LETTISH PLOT

During the climactic month of August, 1918, the secret plans for Allied intervention in Russia flared into the open. On August 2, British troops disembarked at Archangel with the proclaimed purpose of preventing "war supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans." On August 4 the British seized the oil centre of Baku in the Caucasus. A few days later, British and French contingents landed at Vladivostok. They were followed on August 12 by a Japanese division, and on August 15 and 16 by two American regiments recently transferred from the Philippines.

Large sections of Siberia were already in the hands of anti-Soviet forces. In the Ukraine, the Czarist General Krasnov, supported by the Germans, was waging a bloody anti-Soviet campaign. At Kiev, the German puppet Hetman Skoropadsky had initiated wholesale massacres of Jews and Communists.

From north, south, east and west, the enemies of the new Russia were preparing to converge on Moscow.

The few remaining Allied representatives in Moscow began to make preparations for their departure. They did not inform the Soviet Government that they were doing so. As Bruce Lockhart later wrote in *British Agent*: "It was an extraordinary situation. There had been no declaration of war, yet fighting was proceeding on a front stretching from the Dvina to the Caucasus." And Lockhart added: "I had several discussions with Reilly, who had decided to remain on in

Moscow after our departure."

Towards the end of August, 1918, a small group of Allied representatives gathered for a confidential conference in a room at the American Consulate General in Moscow. They chose the American Consulate General because all other foreign centres were under close Soviet supervision. In spite of the American landings in Siberia, the Soviet Government still maintained a friendly attitude toward the United States. Throughout Moscow, placards presenting Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were prominently displayed. An editorial in *Izvestia* had stated that "only the Americans know how to treat the Bolsheviks decently." The legacy of Raymond Robins' mission was not altogether spent.

The gathering at the American Consulate General was presided over by the French Consul Grenard. The British were represented by Reilly and by Captain George Hill, a British Intelligence officer who had been delegated to work with Reilly.* A number of other Allied diplomatic and secret service agents were present, including the French newspaperman, Rene Marchand, the Moscow correspondent of the *Paris Figaro*.

Sidney Reilly had called the meeting, according to his own account in his memoirs, to report on the progress of his anti-Soviet operations. He informed the Allied representatives that he had "bought Colonel Berzin, the commander of the Kremlin Guard." The Colonel's price had been "two million roubles." An advance of 500,000 roubles in Russian currency had been paid to Colonel Berzin by Reilly; the remainder of the sum was to be paid in English pounds when Colonel Berzin had rendered certain services and had escaped to the British lines in Archangel.

"Our organisation is now immensely strong," declared Reilly. "The Letts are on our side, and the people will be with us the moment the first blow is struck!"

Reilly then announced that a special meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee was soon to be held at the Moscow Grand Theater. It would bring together in the same building all the key

*Following his return to England, Captain George Hill was assigned by the British Secret Service in 1919 to work as a liaison officer with the White Russian Armies of General Anton Denikin during the war of intervention against Soviet Russia. Later Captain Hill went to work as a special agent for Sir Henri Deterding, the famous European oil magnate whose obsession was to destroy Soviet Russia and who helped finance Hitler's rise to power in Germany. The British Government subsequently used George Hill on important "diplomatic" assignments in eastern Europe. In 1932 a book by Hill, described some of his adventures as a spy in Soviet Russia, was published in London. Its title was *Go Spy the Land, Being the Adventures of I.K.S. of the British Secret Service*.

In the spring of 1945 the Churchill Government selected George Hill, who by then had risen to the position of Brigadier in the British Army, to go as special envoy into Poland. Brigadier Hill, it was explained, was to serve as a British observer in Poland and was to report back to London on the then troubled Polish situation. The Warsaw Provisional Government, however, would not permit Brigadier Hill to enter Poland.

leaders of the Soviet state. Reilly's plot was bold but simple. . . . In the course of their regular duty, the Lettish Guards would be stationed at all the entrances and exits of the theater during the Bolshevik meeting. Colonel Berzin would choose for the occasion men "absolutely faithful and devoted to our cause." At a given signal, Berzin's guards would close the doors and cover all the people in the theater with their rifles. Then a "special detachment" consisting of Reilly himself and his "inner circle of conspirators" would leap on the stage and arrest the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party!

Lenin and the other Soviet leaders would be shot. Before their execution, however, they would be publicly paraded through the streets of Moscow "so that everyone should be aware that the tyrants of Russia were prisoners!"

With Lenin and his associates out of the way, the Soviet regime would collapse like a house of cards. There were "60,000 officers" in Moscow, said Reilly, "who were ready to mobilize immediately the signal was given," and form an army to strike within the city while the Allied forces attacked from without. The man to head this secret anti-Soviet army was the "well-known Czarist officer, General Yudenitch." A second army under "General" Savinkov would assemble in north Russia and "what remained of the Bolsheviks would be crushed between an upper and nether millstone."

This was Reilly's plot. It had the backing of both the British and the French Intelligence Services. The British were in close touch with General Yudenitch and were preparing to supply him with arms and equipment. The French were backing Savinkov.

The Allied representatives gathered at the American Consulate General were told what they could do to help the conspiracy by espionage, propaganda and by arranging for the blowing-up of vital railroad bridges around Moscow and Petrograd in order to cut off the Soviet Government from any aid which the Red Army might try to bring from other sections of the country. . . .

As the day of the armed coup drew near, Reilly was meeting regularly with Colonel Berzin, carefully working out every last detail of the plot and making preparations for all possible exigencies. Reilly decided to go to Petrograd to make a last-minute check-up on the apparatus in that city.

Travelling by train on the forged passport which identified him as Sidney Georgevitch Relinsky, agent of the Cheka, Reilly left Moscow for Petrograd.

5. EXIT SIDNEY REILLY

In Petrograd, Reilly went straight to the British Embassy to report to Captain Cromie, the British Naval Attache. Reilly quickly outlined the situation in Moscow, and explained the plan for the uprising. "Moscow is in our hands!" he said. Cromie was delighted. Reilly promised to write out a full report for secret dispatch to London.

The following morning Reilly began getting in touch with the leaders of his Petrograd apparatus. At noon he telephoned the former Ochrana agent, Grammatikov.

Grammatikov's voice sounded hoarse and unnatural. "Who is it?" he asked.

"It's I, Relinsky," said Reilly.

"Who?" asked Grammatikov.

Reilly repeated his pseudonym.

"I have somebody with me who has brought bad news," Grammatikov said abruptly. "The doctors have operated too early. The patient's condition is serious. Come at once if you wish to see me."

Reilly hurried to Grammatikov's house. He found Grammatikov feverishly emptying his desk drawers and burning papers in the fire grate.

"The fools have struck too early!" Grammatikov exclaimed as soon as Reilly entered the room. "Uritsky is dead, assassinated in his office this morning at eleven o'clock!"

As he spoke, Grammatikov went on tearing up papers and burning the pieces. "It is a terrible risk our staying here. I am, of course, already under suspicion. If anything is discovered before anything else it will be your name and mine."

Reilly decided to risk another visit to the British Embassy. . . .

In the Vlademirovsky Prospect, Reilly saw men and women running. They dove into doorways and side streets. There was the roar of powerful engines. A car shot by, crammed with Red Army men, then another, and another.

Reilly quickened his pace. He was almost running when he rounded the corner onto the street where the British Embassy was situated. He stopped abruptly. In front of the Embassy lay several bodies. They were dead Soviet police officials. Four cars were drawn up opposite the Embassy, and across the street was a double cordon of Red Army men. The Embassy door had been battered off its hinges.

"Well, Comrade Relinsky, have you come to see our carnival?"

Reilly spun around to see a young grinning Red Army soldier whom he had met several times in his guise of Comrade Relinsky of the Cheka. "Tell me, comrade, what has happened?" Reilly asked hastily.

"The Cheka were looking for someone called Sidney Reilly," replied the soldier.

Later Reilly learned what had happened. Following the murder of Uritsky, the head of the Petrograd Cheka, by a Social Revolutionary terrorist, the Soviet authorities in Petrograd had sent Cheka agents to close up the British Embassy. Upstairs, the members of the Embassy staff, under the direction of Captain Cromie, were burning incriminating papers. Captain Cromie dashed downstairs and bolted the door in the faces of the Soviet secret police. They broke down the door, and the desperate British agent met them on the stairs with a Browning automatic in each hand. Cromie

shot and killed a commissar and several other officials. The Cheka agents returned his fire. Captain Cromie had fallen, with a bullet through his head. . . .

Reilly spent the rest of that night at the home of a Social Revolutionary terrorist named Serge Dornoski. In the morning he sent Dornoski out to reconnoiter and learn all he could. Dornoski returned with a copy of the official Communist newspaper, *Pravda*. "The streets will run with blood," he said. "Somebody has had a shot at Lenin in Moscow. Missed him unfortunately!" He handed Reilly the paper. A flaring headline told of the attempt on Lenin's life.

On the previous evening, as Lenin was leaving the Michelson factory, where he had been speaking at a meeting, a Social Revolutionary terrorist named Fanya Kaplan had fired two shots point-blank at the Soviet leader. The bullets had been notched and poisoned. One of them had penetrated Lenin's lung above the heart. The other had entered his neck close to the main artery. Lenin had not been killed, but his life was said to be hanging in the balance.

The gun which Fanya Kaplan had used on Lenin had been given to her by Reilly's accomplice, Boris Savinkov. Subsequently, Savinkov disclosed this fact in his *Memoirs of a Terrorist*.

With a small automatic pistol strapped under his arm for use in an emergency, Reilly left immediately by train for Moscow. En route the next day, he bought a newspaper at the junction of Klin. The news was the worst possible. There was a detailed account of Reilly's whole conspiracy, including the plan to shoot Lenin and the other Soviet leaders, to seize Moscow and Petrograd, and to set up a military dictatorship under Savinkov and Yudenitch.

Reilly read on with growing dismay. Rene Marchand, the French journalist who had been present at the meeting at the American Consulate General, had informed the Bolsheviks of everything that had transpired there.

But the final blow was yet to come.

Colonel Berzin, the commander of the Lettish Guard, had named Captain Sidney Reilly as the British agent who had tried to bribe him with an offer of two million roubles to join in a plot to murder the Soviet leaders. The Soviet press also published a letter which Bruce Lockhart had given Berzin to pass through the British lines at Archangel.

Lockhart had been arrested in Moscow by the Cheka. Other Allied officials and agents were being rounded up and taken into custody.

All over Moscow, Reilly's description was pasted up. His various aliases — Massino, Constantine, Relinsky — were published, together with the proclamation of his outlawry. The hunt was on.

In spite of the obvious danger, Reilly proceeded to Moscow. He located the ballet dancer, Dagmara, at the house of a woman named Vera Petrovna, an accomplice of Lenin's would-be assassin,

Fanya Kaplan.

Dagmara told Reilly that her apartment had been raided several days before by the Cheka. She had managed to conceal two million roubles which she had in thousand-rouble notes, part of Reilly's conspiratorial money. The Cheka agents had not arrested her; she did not know why. Perhaps they believed she would lead them to Sidney Reilly.

But with Dagmara's two-million roubles at his disposal Reilly was no easy game. Now disguised as a Greek merchant, now an ex-Czarist officer, now a Soviet official, now a rank-and-file Communist worker, he kept on the move, eluding the Cheka.

Reilly remained in Russia for several weeks longer, gathering espionage material and advising and encouraging the anti-Soviet elements who were still carrying on. Then, after a series of hairbreadth escapes, he made his way by means of a forged German passport to Bergen, Norway. From here, he sailed for England.

Back in London, Captain Reilly reported to his superiors in the British Secret Service. He was full of regrets for lost opportunities. "If Rene Marchand had not been a traitor . . . if Beria had not shown the white feather . . . if the Expeditionary Force had advanced quickly on the Vologda . . . if I could have combined with Savinkov . . ."

But of one thing Reilly was sure. The fact that England was still at war with Germany was a mistake. There must be an immediate cessation of hostilities on the Western Front and a coalition against Bolshevism. Cried Captain Sidney George Reilly

"Peace, peace on any terms — and then a united front against the true enemies of mankind!"

CHAPTER FOUR

Siberian Adventure

1. AIDE MEMOIRE

ON August 2, 1918, the day British troops landed at Archangel, Major General William S. Graves of the United States Army, commander of the 8th Division at Camp Fremont, Palo Alto, California, received an urgent coded message from the War Department, D.C. The first sentence, when decoded, read:—

You will not tell any member of your staff or anybody else the contents of this message.

The message then instructed General Graves to "take the first of the fastest train out of San Francisco and proceed to Kansas City, go to the Baltimore Hotel, and ask for the Secretary of War."

No reason was offered to explain why the General was being summoned with such dispatch to Kansas City, and no indication how long he would be away from his post.

General Graves, a veteran, hard-bitten soldier, was not giving asking questions which obviously were not wanted. He stuffed a few belongings into a small travelling bag. Two hours later

was aboard the Sante Fe express speeding east from San Francisco.

When the General arrived in Kansas City he found Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of War, waiting for him at the station.

The Secretary of War was in a hurry. He had to catch a train in a few minutes, he explained. Hastily, he told General Graves why he had summoned him to this mysterious meeting. The War Department had selected Graves to take command of an expedition of American troops which was to leave immediately for Siberia.

Secretary Baker then handed General Graves a sealed envelope, and said: "This contains the policy of the United States in Russia which you are to follow. Watch your step; you will be walking on eggs loaded with dynamite. God bless you and good-by!"

That night, alone in his hotel room in Kansas City, General Graves opened the sealed envelope. He drew out a seven-page memorandum entitled *Aide Memoire*. The memorandum was without signature, but at the conclusion there appeared the words: "*Department of State, Washington, D.C., July 17, 1918.*"

The *Aide Memoire* began with a series of broad generalisations about "the whole heart of the American people" being "in the winning of the war." It was necessary, stated the document, that the United States "co-operate ungrudgingly" in every possible way with its allies against Germany. The *Aide Memoire* then reached its main subject:—

It is the clear and fixed judgment of the Government of the United States, arrived at after repeated and very searching considerations of the whole situation in Russia, that military intervention there would add to the present sad confusion in Russia, rather than cure it, injure her rather than help her, and that it would be of no advantage in the prosecution of our main design, to win the war against Germany. It cannot, therefore, take part in such intervention or sanction it in principle.

This was a clear and precise statement of policy with which General Graves heartily agreed. Why then was he being sent to command American troops on Russian territory? Puzzled, the General read on:—

Military action is admissable in Russia, as the Government of the United States sees the circumstances, only to help the Czechoslovaks consolidate their forces and get into successful co-operation with their Slavic kinsmen. . . . Czechoslovaks? In Russia?

"I went to bed," General Graves wrote later, describing the incident in his book, *American Siberian Adventure*, "but I could not sleep and I kept wondering what other nations were doing and why I was not given some information about what was going on in Siberia."

Had General Graves known the answers to the questions that were keeping him awake, he would have been far more perturbed that summer night in Kansas City.

2. INTRIGUE AT VLADIVOSTOK

In the midsummer of 1918, as Raymond Robins travelled eastward along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, he had seen side-track train loads of Czechoslovakian soldiers. Former unwilling members of the Austro-Hungarian Army, these Czechs had deserted in large numbers to the Russian lines before the Revolution. The Imperial Russian High Command had formed them into a Czech Army fighting side by side with the Russian against the Austro-German forces. After the downfall of Kerensky, the Soviet Government had agreed, at the request of the Allies, to transport the Czech troops across Russia to Vladivostok. They were to sail from this port, circle the globe and join the Allied forces on the Western Front. More than 50,000 of these Czech soldiers were strung out along the 5,000-mile stretch of railroad from Kazan to Vladivostok.

The Czech soldiers believed that they were going to fight in Europe for the independence of Czechoslovakia; but their leaders, the reactionary Czech Generals Gayda and Sirovy, had other plans. In connivance with certain Allied statesmen, these generals were planning to use the Czech troops to overthrow the Soviet Government. . . .

According to the agreement reached between the Allies and the Soviet Government, the Czechs were to surrender their arms to the Soviet authorities during their passage through Soviet territory. But on June 4, 1918, Ambassador David R. Francis had privately informed his son in a letter that he was "planning to prevent, if possible" the disarming of the Czech soldiers. The American Ambassador added:—

I have no instructions or authority from Washington to encourage these men to disobey the orders of the Soviet Government, except an expression of sympathy sent out by the Department of State. I have taken chances before, however.

Acting under orders from Generals Gayda and Sirovy, the Czechs refused to surrender their military equipment to the Soviet authorities. Simultaneous outbreaks occurred all along the Trans-Siberian line. The well-trained and amply equipped Czech troops seized a number of towns where they were stationed, overthrew the local Soviets and established anti-Soviet administrations.

During the first week in July, with the aid of Russian counter-revolutionaries, General Gayda staged a coup in Vladivostok and set up an anti-Soviet regime in that city. The streets were placarded with a proclamation signed by Admiral Knight of the United States Navy, Vice-Admiral Kato of the Japanese Navy, Colonel Pons of the French Mission, and Captain Badiura of the Czechoslovak Army, who had become commandant of the occupied city. The proclamation informed the populace that "in the spirit of friendship and sympathy for the Russian people."

On July 22, 1918, five days after the U.S. State Department

ew up its *Aide Memoire* on the need for sending American troops Siberia to aid in the disembarkation of the Czech troops, DeWittinton Poole, the American Consul in Moscow, sent the American consul at Omsk a cipher telegram which read:—

You may inform the Czecho-Slovak leaders confidentially that pending further notice the Allies will be glad, from a political point of view, to have them hold their present position. On the other hand they should not be hampered in meeting the military exigency of the situation. It is desirable first of all, that they should secure control of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and second, if this is assumed at the same time possible, retain control over the territory which they now dominate. Inform the French representatives that the French Consul General joins in these instructions.*

The pretext given by the Allied Powers for invading Siberia in the summer of 1918 was that they were coming to save the Czechs from unprovoked attacks by Red Army troops and by German war prisoners armed by the Bolsheviks. Throughout that spring and summer, British, French and American newspapers were filled with sensational reports that the Bolsheviks were arming "tens of thousands of German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia" to fight against the Czechs. The *New York Times* reported that in the city of Tomsk alone, 60,000 Germans had been supplied by the Reds with military equipment.

Captain Hicks of the British Intelligence Service, Captain Webster of the American Red Cross Mission, and Major Drysdale, the American Military Attache at Peking, traveled to Siberia, with permission from the Soviet authorities, to investigate the charges. After weeks of careful investigation, the three men reached the same conclusion: there were no armed German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia. The charges, the three officers declared, were pure fabrication propaganda deliberately designed to involve the Allies in intervention against Soviet Russia.**

On August 3, 1918, British troops landed at Vladivostok.

"We are coming," the British Government informed the Russian people on August 8, "to help you save yourselves from dismemberment and destruction at the hands of Germany. . . . We wish to solemnly assure you that we shall not retain one foot of your territory. The destinies of Russia are in the hands of the Russian people. It is for them, and them alone, to decide their forms of government, and to find a solution for their social problems."

On August 16, the first American detachments landed.

*DeWitt Clinton Poole later became Chief of the State Department's Russian Affairs Division.

**The findings of Captain Hicks, Captain Webster and Major Drysdale went from the British and American publics. Captain Hicks received a curt order to return to London, and then was assigned to work with Captain Sidney Reilly. The U.S. State Department shelved the reports of Captain Webster and Major Drysdale.

"Military action is admissible in Russia now," declared Washington, "only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czecho-slovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defence in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance."

The Japanese landed fresh forces that same month.

"In adopting this course," announced Tokyo, "the Japanese Government remains constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship, and they affirm their policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference with her national politics."

The Japanese soldiers in Siberia were thoughtfully provided by the Japanese High Command with little Russian dictionaries in which the word "Bolshevik," defined as *Barsuk* (badger or wild beast), was followed by the notation: "To be exterminated."

3. TERROR IN THE EAST

On September 1, 1918, General Graves arrived in Vladivostok to take over command of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia. "I landed in Siberia," he later wrote in *American Siberian Adventure*, "without any preconceived ideas as to what should or should not be done. I had no prejudice against any Russian faction and anticipated I would be able to work harmoniously and in a co-operative spirit with all the Allies."

General Graves's instructions, as set forth in the *Aide Memoir*, were to protect the Trans-Siberian Railway, to help the Czech force disembark from Vladivostok, and to refrain from interfering in domestic Russian affairs.

He had scarcely established his headquarters when he was visited by the Czech leader, General Gayda, who proceeded to put Graves straight on the Russian situation. The Russians, said Gayda, could not be ruled "by kindness or persuasion, but only by the whip and the bayonet." In order to save the country from utter chaos, it was necessary to wipe out Bolshevism and put a military dictator in power. Gayda said he knew just the man for the position: Admiral Alexander Vassilievitch Kolchan, an ex-Czarist navy commander who had come from Japan to organise an anti-Soviet army and who had already rallied considerable forces in Siberia. Meanwhile, General Graves must help the Czechs and the other anti-Soviet armies to fight the Bolsheviks.

Gayda then presented General Graves with a plan for an immediate march to the Volga and an assault on Moscow from the East. This plan, Gayda revealed, had been approved by his French and British advisers and by representatives of the U.S. State Department.

General Graves repeated the orders he had received from his Government and said he intended to stand by them. He told Gayda that as long as he was in command, no American soldiers would be used against the Bolsheviks or would interfere in any other way

with internal affairs in Russia . . .

Gayda left in a fury. A short time after, General Graves received another important visitor. This time it was General Knox, the former supporter of Kornilov and now the commander of the British forces in Siberia.

"You're getting a reputation of being a friend of the poor," Knox arned General Graves. "Don't you know they're only swine?"

General Graves had what Raymond Robins called "the outdoor ind." He was a man who believed in finding out things for mself. He decided to secure firsthand information about the tual state of affairs in Siberia. His intelligence officers were soon aveling about the countryside and bringing back extensive and deiled reports of their observations. Before long Graves had ached the conclusion that:—

The word "Bolshevik", as used in Siberia, covered most of the Russian people and to use troops to fight Bolsheviks or to arm, equip, feed, clothe or pay White Russians to fight them was utterly inconsistent with "non-interference with the internal affairs of Russia."

By the autumn of 1918, there were already more than 7000 English troops in northern Siberia. Another 7000 British and French officers, technicians and soldiers were with Admiral Kolchak, helping him train and equip his White Russian, anti-Soviet rmy. Aiding the British and French were 1500 Italians. There vere approximately 8000 American soldiers under General Graves's ommand. By far the largest force in Siberia was that of the apanese, who had high ambitions of taking Siberia over entirely or themselves: The Japanese soldiers numbered over 70,000. . . .

In November, Admiral Kolchak, with the aid of his British and French supporters, established himself as dictator of Siberia. The Admiral, an excitable little man, who was described by one of his colleagues as a "sick child . . . certainly a neurasthenic . . . always under another's influence," set up headquarters at Omsk and gave himself the title of "Supreme Ruler of Russia." Announcing that Kolchak was the "Russian Washington", the former Czarist Minister Sazonov promptly became Kolchak's official representative in Paris. Paeans of praise for the Admiral sounded in London and Paris. Sir Samuel Hoare repeated his opinion that Kolchak was "a gentleman." Winston Churchill described Kolchak as "honest," "incorruptible", "intelligent", and "patriotic". *The New York Times* saw in him "a strong and an honest man" with "a stable and approximately representative government."

The Kolchak regime was generously supplied by the Allies, especially by Britain, with munitions, weapons of war and funds. We despatched to Siberia," General Knox proudly reported, "hundreds of thousands of rifles, hundreds of millions of cartridges, hundreds of thousands of uniforms and cartridge belts, etc. Every

bullet fired against the Bolsheviks by the Russian soldiers in the course of that year was manufactured in Great Britain, by British workers, out of British raw material, and shipped to Vladivostok in British bottoms."

A popular Russian ditty of the time went:—

Uniforms British,	Japanese tobacco,
Epaulettes from France,	Kolchak leads the dance!

General Graves did not share the Allied enthusiasm for the rule of Admiral Kolchak. Every day his intelligence officers brought him new reports of the reign of terror which Kolchak had instituted. There were 100,000 men in the Admiral's army, and thousands more were being recruited on penalty of being shot. Prisons and concentration camps were filled to overflowing. Hundreds of Russians, who had had the temerity to oppose the new dictator dangled from telegraph poles and trees along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Many more reposed in common graves which they had been forced to dig themselves before Kolchak's executioners had mowed them down with machine-gun fire. Rape, murder and pillage were the rule of the day.

Along with Kolchak's troops, terrorist bands, financed by the Japanese, were ravaging the countryside. Their chief leaders were Ataman Gregori Semyonov and Kalmikoff.

Colonel Morrow, the commander of the American troops in the Trans-Baikal sector, reported that in one village occupied by Semyonov's troops, every man, woman and child was murdered. The majority of the occupants, related the Colonel, were shot down "like rabbits" as they fled from their homes. Men were burned alive.

"Semenov [Semyonov] and Kalmikoff soldiers," according to General Graves, "under the protection of Japanese troops, were roaming the country like wild animals, killing and robbing the people. . . . If questions were asked about these brutal murders, the reply was that the people murdered were the Bolsheviks and this explanation, apparently, satisfied the world."

General Graves openly expressed his abhorrence of the atrocities which were being carried out by the anti-Soviet forces in Siberia. His attitude aroused much hostility among the White Russian British, French and Japanese Leaders.

Morriss, the American Ambassador to Japan, who was visiting in Siberia, told General Graves that the State Department had wired him that American policy in Siberia necessitated support of Kolchak. "Now, General," said Morriss, "you will have to support Kolchak."

Graves replied that he had received no word from the War Department directing him to support Kolchak.

"The State Department is running this, not the War Department," said Morriss.

"The State Department," answered Graves, "is not running me."

In the midst of this ever-spreading civil war and intervention in Siberia and throughout Soviet Russia, startling events occurred in Europe. On November 9, 1918, German sailors mutinied at Kiel, killed their officers and hoisted the Red flag. Mass peace demonstrations swept Germany. On the Western Front, Allied and German soldiers fraternized in no-man's land. The German High Command sued for an armistice. Kaiser Wilhelm II fled to Holland, surrendering his imperial sword at the frontier to a surprised young Dutch border guard. On November 11, the Armistice was signed. . . .

The First World War was over.

CHAPTER FIVE

Peace and War

I. PEACE IN THE WEST

THE First World War had ended abruptly. As the German officer, Captain Ernst Roehm, said: "Peace broke out." Soviets were set up in Berlin, Hamburg and throughout Bavaria. Workers demonstrated for peace and democracy in the streets of Paris, London and Rome. Revolution gripped Hungary. The Balkans were seething with peasant discontent. After the terrible four years' war, passionate vows were on all men's lips: *No more War; Nie Wieder Krieg! Jamais plus de guerre! Never Again!*

"The whole of Europe is filled with the spirit of revolution," David Lloyd George was to tell the Paris Peace Conference in his confidential Memorandum of March, 1919. "There is a deep sense not only of discontent, but of anger and revolt, amongst the workmen against prewar conditions. The whole existing order in its political, social and economic aspects is questioned by the masses of the population from one end of Europe to the other."

Ten million men had died in battle; twenty million were crippled and maimed; thirteen million civilians were dead of famine and plague; millions more wandered destitute and homeless amid the smoking ruins of Europe. But now at last the war was over, and the world listened to words of peace.

"My conception of the League of Nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organised moral force of men throughout the world," said Woodrow Wilson.

Early in January, 1919, the Big Four—Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau and Vittorio Orlando—sat down in a conference room at the Quai D'Orsay in Paris to talk about world peace.

But one-sixth of the earth was not represented at the Peace Conference.

Even as the peacemakers talked, tens of thousands of Allied soldiers were waging a bloody, undeclared war against Soviet Russia. Side by side with the counterrevolutionary White Armies led by

Kolchak and Denikin, the Allied troops were fighting the young Red Army on an immense battlefield that stretched from the bleak arctic regions to the Black Sea, and from the Ukrainian wheatfields to the mountains and steppes of Siberia.

A violent and fantastic campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda was sweeping Europe and America in the spring of 1919. The *London Daily Telegraph* reported a "reign of terror" in Odessa accompanied by a "free love week." The *New York Sun* headlined, U.S. Wounded Mutilated by Reds with Axes." The *New York Times* reported: "Russia Under Reds a Gigantic Bedlam . . . Escaped Victims say maniacs Stalk Raving through the streets of Moscow . . . Fight Dogs for Carrion." The entire world press, Allied and German alike, published fraudulent "authentic documents" showing that in Russia "young women and girls of the bourgeois classes" were being "commandeered and delivered to the barracks . . . for the needs of artillery regiments!"

Factual reports on the true conditions in Russia, whether they came from journalists, secret agents, diplomats or even generals like Judson and Graves, were suppressed or ignored. Anyone who dared to question the anti-Soviet campaign was automatically denounced as a "Bolshevik."

Scarcely two months after the Armistice, the Allied leaders seemed already to have forgotten the purpose for which the great conflict was fought. The "menace of Bolshevism" swept aside every other consideration. It dominated the Paris Peace Conference.

Marshal Foch, the French Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies appeared before a secret session of the Peace Conference to demand a quick settlement with Germany, so that the Allies could hurl their combined resources against Soviet Russia. The French Marshal pleaded the case of France's mortal enemy, Germany.

"The present difficult situation of the German Government is well-known," said Foch. "At Mannheim, Carlsruhe, Baden and Dusseldorf, the Soviet movement is rapidly extending. At the present moment Germany will therefore accept any terms the Allies might demand. The German Government only asks peace. That is the only thing that will satisfy the people and enable the Government to master the situation."

To put down the German revolution, the German High Command was to be permitted to retain an army of 100,000 officers and men, as well as the so-called "Black Reichswehr" composed of the most highly-trained and indoctrinated soldiers in Germany. In addition, the German High Command was allowed to subsidise underground nationalist leagues and terrorist societies to kill, torture and intimidate the insurgent German democrats. All of this was done in the name of "saving Germany from Bolshevism. . . ."

General Max Hoffman, former Commander of the German Armies on the Eastern Front and the "hero" of Brest-Litovsk, ap-

proached his recent enemy, Marshal Foch, with a Plan whereby the German Army was to march on Moscow and annihilate Bolshevism "at its source." Foch approved the Plan, but proposed that the French Army, instead of the German, should spearhead the attack. Foch wanted to mobilize the whole of eastern Europe against Soviet Russia.

"In Russia at the present moment Bolshevism and complete anarchy reign," Foch told the Paris Peace Conference. "My plan would settle all the important outstanding questions on the Western side in order to enable the Allies to use the resources thus made available for the solution of the Eastern question. . . . Polish troops would be quite able to face the Russians, provided the former are strengthened by the supply of modern appliances and engines of war. Great numbers are required, which could be obtained by mobilizing the Finns, Poles, Czechs, Rumanians and Greeks, as well as the Russian pro-ally elements still available. . . . If this done, 1919 will see the end of Bolshevism!"

2. AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

At the early sessions of the Paris Peace Conference, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Lloyd George made a series of stinging attacks on the anti-Soviet plans of Foch and the French Premier Clemenceau.

"The Germans," declared Lloyd George, "at the time when they needed every available man to reinforce their attack on the Western Front were forced to keep about a million men to garrison a few provinces of Russia which was a mere fringe of the whole country. And, moreover, at that time Bolshevism was weak and disorganised. Now it is strong and has a formidable army. Is any one of the Western Allies prepared to send a million men into Russia? If I proposed to send a thousand additional British troops to Russia for that purpose, the army would mutiny! The same applies to U.S. troops in Siberia; also to Canadian and French as well. The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by a military force is pure madness. Even admitting it is done, who is to occupy Russia?"

The British Prime Minister was not motivated by idealistic considerations. He feared revolution in Europe and Asia; and, as a shrewd politician, the Welsh "Fox" was keenly sensitive to the popular mood in Britain which was overwhelmingly against further intervention in Russia. There was an even more cogent reason for opposing the plans of Marshal Foch. Sir Henry Wilson, the British Chief of Staff, in a recent secret report to the War Cabinet had stated that the only policy for Britain was "to get our troops out of Europe and Russia and concentrate all our strength in our coming storm centres, England, Ireland, Egypt, India". Lloyd George feared that Foch and Clemenceau would try to establish French hegemony in Russia while Britain was preoccupied elsewhere.

And so the astute British Prime Minister believing he could eventually get what he wanted by simply leaving Russia alone for

a while, supported the President of the United States in demanding fair play for the Bolsheviks. At secret sessions of the Paris Peace Conference, Lloyd George minced no words.

"The peasants accepted Bolshevism for the same reason that peasants accepted it in the French Revolution, namely, that it gave them land," Lloyd George declared. "The Bolsheviks are the de facto Government. We formerly recognised the Czar's Government, although at the time we knew it was absolutely rotten. Our reason was that it was the de facto Government . . . but we refuse to recognise the Bolsheviks! To say that we ourselves should pick the representatives of a great people is contrary to every principle for which we have fought."

President Wilson said he did not see how anyone could controvert what Lloyd George had said. He proposed to call a special conference on the Island of Prinkipo, or some other place "convenient of approach," to explore the possibilities of peace in Russia. In the interests of impartiality, delegates of both the Soviet Government and the White anti-Soviet groups should be invited to attend. . . .

The French "Tiger", George Clemenceau, spokesman for the French holders of Czarist bonds and the General Staff, rose in reply on behalf of the advocates of intervention. Clemenceau knew that Lloyd George's subtle policy would not be supported in British ruling circles, where the militarists and the Intelligence Service were already committed to an anti-Soviet war. At the same time, Clemenceau felt it was necessary, for Wilson's benefit, to break down Lloyd George's arguments by a strong statement of the menace of Bolshevism.

"In principle" began Clemenceau, "I do not favor conversations with the Bolsheviks, not because they are criminals, but because we would be raising them to our level by saying that they are worthy of entering into conversation with us." The British Prime Minister and the President of the United States, if the French Premier might be permitted to say so, were adopting too academic and doctrinaire an attitude to the question of Bolshevism. "The Bolshevik danger is very great at the present moment," Clemenceau declared. "Bolshevism is spreading. It has invaded the Baltic Provinces and Poland, and this very morning we have received very bad news regarding its spread to Budapest and Vienna. Italy also is in danger. The danger is probably greater there than in France. If Bolshevism, after spreading in Germany, were to traverse Austria and Hungary and to reach Italy, Europe would be faced with a very great danger. Therefore, something must be done against Bolshevism!"

Woodrow Wilson's peace plan, backed by Lloyd George, seemed about to go through in spite of Clemenceau and Foch. Wilson drew up a note outlining the terms of his proposal and sent it to the Soviet Government and to the various White Russian groups. The

Soviet Government promptly accepted Wilson's plan, and prepared to send delegates to Prinkipo. But, as Winston Churchill later put it, "the moment was not propitious" for the peace in Russia. The majority of the Allied leaders were convinced that the Soviet regime would soon be overthrown. On the secret advice of the Allied supporters, the White groups refused to meet with the Soviet delegates at Prinkipo.

The atmosphere at the Peace Conference changed. Lloyd George, realizing he was getting nowhere, abruptly returned to London. In his place, Winston Churchill, the youthful British Secretary of War and Aviation, hurried to Paris to state the case for the anti-Bolshevik extremists.*

It was February 14, 1919, the day before Wilson was to go back to America to face the isolationist Congressional bloc, headed by Senator Lodge, which had undermined his every effort to create a system of world co-operation and security. Wilson knew he had failed in Europe, and feared he might fail in the United States. He was disillusioned, tired and profoundly discouraged.

Winston Churchill was introduced to President Wilson by the British Foreign Secretary A. J. Balfour who announced that the British Secretary for War had come over to Paris to explain the present views of the British Cabinet on the question of Russia. Churchill immediately plunged into an attack on Wilson's Prinkipo peace plan.

"There was a Cabinet meeting in London yesterday," said Churchill, "at which great anxiety was manifested concerning the Russian situation, particularly in respect of the Prinkipo meeting. . . . If only the Bolsheviks are to attend the conference, it is thought that little good will come of the meeting. The military aspect of the case must be considered. Great Britain has soldiers in Russia who are being killed in action."

Wilson answered Churchill: "Since Mr. Churchill has come over from London specially to anticipate my departure, I feel I should

*At that time, and for many years to come, Winston Churchill was the leading spokesman for British Tory anti-Sovietism. Churchill feared the spread of Russian revolutionary ideas through the eastern regions of the British Empire.

Rene Kraus, in his biography Winston Churchill writes: "The Big Five Paris had decided to support the White Russian counterrevolution. Churchill was entrusted with the execution of the action he was not responsible for. But there is no denying that once the decision was made he was all on fire to carry it out. . . . In association with the Chief of Staff, Sir Henry Wilson, he worked out a programme to equip and arm the various White Armies from surplus war stores, and to help them with expert officers and instructors."

After Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, Churchill recognised that Nazism constituted the real menace to British interests in Europe and throughout the world. Without hesitation, Churchill reversed his stand on Soviet Russia and began calling for an alliance between Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union to halt the march of Nazi aggression. In 1941 when Nazi Germany invaded Soviet Russia, Churchill's voice was the first to address the world with the declaration that Russia's fight was the fight of all free peoples and would receive Britain's support. At the conclusion of the Second World War, Churchill again raised the cry of the "menace of Bolshevism."

express what my personal thoughts on the subject are. Among the many uncertainties connected with Russia, I have a very clear opinion about two points. The first is that the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are doing no sort of good in Russia. They do not know for whom or for what they are fighting. They are not assisting any promising effort to establish order throughout Russia. They are assisting local movements, like, for instance, that of the Cossacks, who cannot be induced to move outside of their own sphere. My conclusion, therefore, is that the Allied and Associated Powers ought to withdraw their troops from all parts of Russian territory."

When the American President had finished speaking, Churchill replied:—

"Complete withdrawal of all Allied troops is a logical and clear policy, but its consequence would be the destruction of all non-Bolshevik armies in Russia. These number at the present time about 500,000 men and though their quality is not of the best, their numbers are nevertheless increasing. Such a policy would be equivalent to pulling out the linch-pin from the whole machine. There would be no further armed resistance to the Bolsheviks in Russia, and an interminable vista of violence and misery would be all that remained for the whole of Russia."

"But in some areas these forces and supplies would certainly be assisting reactionaries," objected Wilson. "Consequently, if the Allies are asked what they are supporting in Russia, they will be compelled to reply that they do not know!"

Churchill listened politely. "I would like to know," he said, "whether the Council would approve of arming the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia should the Prinkipo Conference prove a failure?"

Dispirited, ill, deserted by Lloyd George, Wilson realised that he was isolated among a company of men determined to have their own way.

"I have explained to the Council how I would act if I were alone," said the President of the United States. "I will, however, cast in my lot with the rest."

Wilson returned to the United States to fight his tragic, losing battle with American reaction. Secretary of State Lansing took his place at the Paris Conference, and the tone of the discussions underwent a notable change. The Allied representatives no longer felt the need of concealing what was in their minds.

"It is necessary," declared the British Foreign Secretary, Balfour, "to take steps to put the Bolsheviks in the wrong, not only before public opinion, but before those who hold the view that Bolshevism is democracy gone astray with large elements of good in it."

Whereupon the Conference settled down to a prolonged discussion

of the most effective means of aiding the White Russian armies against the Soviet Government.

Churchill, who had replaced Lloyd George at the conference table, proposed the immediate establishment of a Supreme Allied Council for Russian Affairs, with political, economic and military sections. The military section was "to get to work at once" on drawing up the details of a broad program of armed intervention.

With Churchill as the acknowledged but unofficial Commander-in-Chief of the Allied anti-Soviet armies, the scene shifted to London where, during that spring and summer, special White Russian emissaries streamed into the British Government offices at Whitehall. They came, as representatives of Admiral Kolchak, General Denikin, and other White Russian leaders, to make the final arrangements for an all-out drive against the Soviets. Their highly secretive negotiations were conducted for the most part with Winston Churchill and Sir Samuel Hoare. Churchill, as Secretary of War, undertook to equip the White Russian armies with material from Great Britain's accumulation of surplus war supplies. Hoare supervised the complex diplomatic intrigues.

CHAPTER SIX.

The War of Intervention

By the summer of 1919, without declaration of war, the armed forces of fourteen states had invaded the territory of Soviet Russia. The countries involved were:—

Great Britain	Serbia
France	Greece
Japan	Poland
Germany	China
Italy	Finland
United States	Rumania
Czechoslovakia	Turkey

Fighting side by side with the anti-Soviet invaders were the counterrevolutionary White armies led by former Czarist generals striving to restore the feudal aristocracy which the Russian people had overthrown.

The strategy of the attackers was ambitious. The armies of the White generals, moving in conjunction with the interventionist troops, were to converge on Moscow from the north, south, east and west.

In the north and north-west, at Archangel, Murmansk and in the Baltic States, the forces of the British stood poised alongside the White Russian troops of General Nicholas Yudenitch.

In the south, at bases in the Caucasus and along the Black Sea, were the White armies of General Anton Denikin, amply supplied and reinforced by the French.

In the east, Admiral Alexander Kolchak's forces, operating under

British Military advisors, were encamped along the Ural mountains.

In the west, under the leadership of French officers, were General Pilsudski's newly organized Polish armies.

Allied statesmen advanced various reasons for the presence of their troops in Russia. When their soldiers first landed in Murmansk and Archangel in the spring and summer of 1918, the Allied Governments declared the troops had come to prevent supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans. Later they explained their troops were in Siberia to help the Czechoslovakian forces withdraw from Russia. Another reason given for the presence of Allied detachments was that they were helping the Russians to "restore order" in their troubled land.

Repeatedly, Allied statesmen denied any intention of armed intervention against the Soviets, or of interfering with Russia's internal affairs. "We do not propose to interfere with the international arrangements of Russia," declared Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, in August, 1918. "She must manage her own affairs."

The ironic and invariably blunt Winston Churchill, who himself supervised the Allied campaign against Soviet Russia, later wrote in his book, *the World Crisis: the Aftermath*:—

Were they [the Allies] at war with Russia? Certainly not; but they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet Government. They blockaded the ports and sunk its battleships. They earnestly desired and schemed its downfall. But war—shocking! Interference—shame! It was, they repeated, a matter of indifference to them how Russians settled their own affairs. They were impartial—bang!

The young Soviet Government struggled for its life in the face of desperate odds. The country had been laid waste and exhausted by the World War. Millions were destitute and starving. The factories were empty, the land unplowed, transport at a standstill. It seemed impossible that such a country could survive the fierce onslaught of an enemy with large, well-equipped armies, vast financial reserves, ample food and other supplies.

Besieged on all sides by foreign invaders, impelled by endless conspiracies at home, the Red Army retreated slowly across the countryside, fighting grimly as it went. The territory controlled by Moscow dwindled to one-sixteenth of Russia's total area. It was Soviet island in an anti-Soviet sea.

On September 5, 1919, Senator Borah arose in the Senate and declared:—

Mr. President, we are not at war with Russia; Congress has not declared war against the Russian government or the Russian people. The people of the United States do not desire to be

at war with Russia. . . . Yet, while we are not at war with Russia, while Congress has not declared war, we are carrying on war with the Russian people. We have an army in Russia; we are furnishing munitions and supplies to other armed forces in that country, and we are just as thoroughly engaged in conflict as though constitutional authority had been invoked, a declaration of war had been made and the nation had been called to arms for that purpose. . . . There is neither legal nor moral justification for sacrificing these lives. It is in violation of the planned principles of free government.

Nevertheless, the undeclared war against Russia went on . . .

The two and a half years of bloody intervention and civil war were responsible for the death through battle, starvation or disease of some 7,000,000 Russian men, women and children. The material losses to the country were later estimated by the Soviet Government at \$60,000,000,000, a sum far in excess of the Czarist debt to the Allies. No reparations were paid by the invaders.

Few official figures were given of the cost to the Allied taxpayers of the war against Russia. According to a memorandum issued by Winston Churchill on September 15, 1919, Great Britain to that date had spent nearly £100,000,000 sterling and France between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 on General Denikin alone. The British campaign in the north cost £18,000,000. The Japanese admitted the expenditure of 900,000,000 yen on the maintenance of their 70,000 troops in Siberia.

What were the motives behind this futile and costly undeclared war?

The White generals were frankly fighting for the restoration of their own Great Russia, for their landed estates, their profits, their class privileges and their epaulettes. There were a few sincere nationalists among them, but the White Armies were overwhelmingly dominated by reactionaries who were the prototypes of the fascist officers and adventurers who were later to emerge in Central Europe.

The war aims of the Allies in Russia were less clear.

The intervention was finally presented to the world by Allied spokesmen, in so far as its motives were publicised at all, as a political crusade against Bolshevism.

Actually, "anti-Bolshevism" played a secondary role. Such factors as north Russian timber, Donets coal, Siberian gold and Caucasian oil carried more weight. There were also such large-scale imperialist interests as the British plan for a Trans-Caucasian Federation which would seal off India from Russia, and make possible exclusive British domination of the oil fields of the Near East; the Japanese plan for the conquest and colonisation of Siberia; the French plan to gain control in the Donets and Black Sea areas;

and the ambitious long-range German plan to seize the Baltic States and the Ukraine.

A British member of Parliament, Lieutenant Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone, told the House of Commons during a somewhat heated debate on Allied policy in Russia in 1920:—

There are groups of people and individuals in this country who have money and shares in Russia, and they are the people who are working, scheming and intriguing to overthrow the Bolshevik regime. . . . Under the old regime, it was possible to get ten or twenty per cent. out of exploiting the Russian workers and peasants, but under socialism it will not be possible to get anything at all probably, and we find that nearly every great interest in this country in some way or another is connected with Soviet Russia.

The Russian Year Book for 1918, the speaker went on, had estimated combined British and French investments in Russia at approximately £1,600,000,000 sterling, or close to \$8,000,000,000.

There was the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company, whose Russian interests had included the Ural Caspian Oil Company, the North Caucasian Oilfield, the New Schibareff Petroleum Company and many other oil concerns; there was the great British arms trust of Metro-Vickers which, together with the French Schneider-Crusot and the German Krupp, had virtually controlled the Czarist munitions industry; there were the big banking houses of Britain and France: the Hoares, Baring Brothers, Hambros, Credit Lyonnais, Societe Generale, Rothschilds and Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, all of which had invested huge sums in the Czarist regime.

"All these big interests," Colonel Malone informed the House of Commons, "are interwoven with one another. They are all interested in keeping the war going with Russia. . . . Behind these interests and behind the financiers who sit on the other side of the House are the newspapers and the other influences which go to make up public opinion in this country."

The most notable American to identify himself with the anti-Soviet war was Herbert Hoover, the future President of the United States, who at that time was the American Food Administrator.

A former mining engineer employed by British concerns, prior to the First World War, Herbert Hoover had had investments in Russian oil wells and mines. The corrupt Czarist regime swarmed with high officials and land-owning aristocrats ready to barter their country's wealth and labor power in return for foreign bribes or a share in the spoils. Hoover had become interested in Russian oil as far back as 1909 when the wells at Maikop were first opened. Within a year, he had secured an interest in no less than eleven Russian oil companies:—

Maikop Neftyanoi Syndicate
Maikop Shirvansky Oil Company
Maikop Apsheron Oil Company

Maikop and General Petroleum Trust
Maikop Oil and Petroleum Products
Maikop Areas Oil Company
Maikop Valley Oil Company
Maikop Mutual Oil Company
Maikop Hadijensky Syndicate
Maikop New Producers Company
Amalgamated Maikop Oilfields

By 1912, the former mining engineer was associated with the famous British multimillionaire, Leslie Urquhart, in three new companies which had been set up to exploit timber and mineral concessions in the Urals and Siberia. Urquhart then floated the Russo-Asiatic Corporation and made a deal with two Czarist banks whereby this Corporation would handle all mining prospects in those areas. Russo-Asiatic shares rose from \$16.25 in 1913 to \$47.50 in 1914. That same year the Corporation obtained three new profitable concessions from the Czarist regime which comprised:—

2,500,000 acres of land, including vast timberland, and water-power; estimated gold, copper, silver and zinc reserves of 7,262,000 tons; 12 developed mines; 2 copper smelters; 20 saw-mills; 250 miles of railroad; blast furnaces, rolling mills, sulphuric acid plants, gold refineries; huge coal reserves.

The total value of these properties was estimated at \$1,000,000,000.

By 1917 Hoover had withdrawn from the Russo-Asiatic Corporation, and had sold his Russian holdings. After the Bolshevik Revolution all the concessions with which Hoover had formerly been associated were abrogated and the mines confiscated by the Soviet Government.

"Bolshevism," said Herbert Hoover at the Paris Peace Conference, "is worse than war!"

He was to remain one of the world's bitterest foes of the Soviet Government for the rest of his life. It is a fact, whatever his personal motive may have been, that under his supervision American food sustained the White Russians and fed the storm troops of the most reactionary regimes in Europe which were engaged in suppressing the upsurge of democracy after the First World War. Thus American relief became a weapon against the peoples' movement in Europe.

"The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik or being overrun by their armies," Hoover later declared in a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard on August 17, 1921. His definition of "Bolshevism" coincided with that of Foch, Petain, Knox, Reilly and Tanaka. As Secretary of Commerce, as President of the United States, and subsequently as a leader of the isolationist wing of the Republican Party, he fought untiringly to prevent the establishment of friendly commercial and diplomatic

relations between America and America's most powerful ally against world fascism, the Soviet Union.

The armed intervention failed in Russia not only because of the unprecedented solidarity and heroism of the Soviet peoples who were fighting to defend their new-won freedom, but also because of the strong support given the young Soviet Republic by the democratic peoples throughout the world. In France, England and the United States, an aroused public opinion had vigorously opposed the sending of men, arms, food and money to the anti-Soviet armies in Russia. "Hands Off Russia!" committees were formed. Workers struck and soldiers mutinied against the interventionist policies of the General Staffs. Democratic statesmen, journalists, educators, and many businessmen protested against the undeclared and unprovoked attack on Soviet Russia.

Sir Henry Wilson, British Chief of Staff, frankly acknowledged the lack of public support of the Allied interventionist policy. On December 1, 1919, in the official British Blue Book, the Chief of Staff wrote:—

The difficulties of the Entente in formulating a Russian policy have, indeed, proved insurmountable, since in no Allied country has there been a sufficient weight of public opinion to justify armed intervention against the Bolsheviks on a decisive scale, with the inevitable result that military operations have lacked cohesion and purpose.

The victory of the Red Army over its enemies thus represented at the same time an international victory for the democratic peoples of all countries.

A final reason for the failure of the intervention was the lack of unity among the invaders. The instigators of the intervention represented a coalition of world reaction, but it was a coalition without genuine co-operation. Imperialist rivalries rended the imperialist coalition. The British feared French ambitions in the Black Sea and German ambitions in the Baltic area. The Americans found it necessary to frustrate Japanese aims in Siberia. The White Generals quarreled among themselves over the spoils.

The war of intervention, begun in secrecy and dishonesty, ended in shameful disaster.

Its legacy of hatred and mistrust was to poison the atmosphere of Europe for the next quarter of a century.

BOOK TWO:

Secrets of the Cordon Sanitaire

CHAPTER SEVEN

The White Crusade

1. THE FERMENT OF THE AFTERMATH

THE first round of the war against Soviet Russia had ended in some thing very like a draw. The Soviet Government was in undisputed possession of most of its own territories; but it was ostracized by the other nations, bound in by a *cordon sanitaire* of hostile puppet states, and cut off from normal political and commercial intercourse with the rest of the world. Officially, the Soviet one-sixth of the earth did not exist — it was "not recognized".

At home, the Soviet Government was confronted with an economic wilderness of smashed factories, flooded mines, ruined agriculture, wrecked transport, disease, famine, and almost universal illiteracy. To the bankrupt heritage of the feudal Czarist regime had been added the debris of seven years of ceaseless war, revolution, counter-revolution and foreign invasion.

The world outside the Soviet borders was still searching for peace, and not finding it. The English statesman, Bonar Law, relating the conditions of the world four years after the signing of the Versailles Peace, told the House of Commons that no less than twenty-three wars were still being waged in different parts of the world. Japan had occupied regions of China and brutally suppressed the Korean independence movement; British troops were putting down popular rebellions in Ireland, Afghanistan, Egypt and India; the French were engaged in open warfare with the Druse tribes in Syria, who, to French chagrin, were armed with machine guns from the British factories of Metro-Vickers; the German General Staff, operating behind the facade of the Weimar Republic, was conspiring to wipe out democratic German elements and to resurrect imperialist Germany.

Every country in Europe seethed with feverish plots and counterplots of fascists, nationalists, militarists and monarchists, all noting their own ends under the general mask of "Anti-Bolshevism."

In spite of the unrest, war weariness and economic anarchy still prevailing in Europe, new plans for the military invasion of Soviet Russia continued to be drawn up and assiduously studied by the General Staffs of Poland, Finland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, England, and Germany.

The frantic anti-Soviet propaganda went on.

Four years after the great war that was to end all wars, all the elements existed for the making of a second world war — to be launched against world democracy under the slogan of "anti-Bolshevism."

2. A GENTLEMAN FROM REVAL

In June, 1921, a group of former Czarist officers, industrialists and aristocrats called an International Anti-Soviet Conference at the Reichenhalle in Bavaria. The conference, which was attended by representatives from anti-Soviet organisations throughout Europe, drew up plans for a world-wide campaign of agitation against Soviet Russia.

A "Supreme Monarchist Council" was elected by the Conference. Its function was to work for "the restoration of the monarchy, headed by the lawful sovereign of the Romanov house, in accordance with the fundamental laws of the Russian Empire".

The infant National Socialist Party of Germany sent a delegate to the Conference. His name was Alfred Rosenberg. . . .

A slender, pale-faced young man with thin lips, dark hair, and a weary, brooding expression, Alfred Rosenberg had begun frequenting the beer halls of Munich in the summer of 1919. He could usually be found at the Augustinerbrau or at the Franziskanerbrau, where he sat alone for hours on end at one of the tables in a corner. Occasionally companions joined him and then, although he greeted them with little warmth, his manner would brighten, and his dark eyes would come to life and gleam in his chalky face as he started talking in a low, passionate voice. He spoke Russian and German with equal fluency.

Rosenberg was the son of a Baltic landowner who had owned a large estate near the Czarist port of Reval. His father claimed descent from the Teutonic Knights who had invaded the Baltic States in the Middle Ages; and young Rosenberg proudly regarded himself as a German. Before the Revolution in Russia, he had studied architecture at the Polytechnikum in Moscow. He had fled from Soviet territory when the Bolsheviks seized power and joined the ranks of the White Guard terrorists fighting under General Count Rudiger von der Goltz in the Baltic area. In 1919 Rosenberg had turned up in Munich, his mind teeming with the anti-democratic and anti-Semitic doctrines of the Czarist Black Hundreds.

A small group of White Guard *emigres* and dispossessed Baltic barons began gathering regularly in Munich to hear Rosenberg's intense, venomous tirades against the Communists and the Jews. These men shared Rosenberg's Black Hundred views on the decadence of democracy and the international conspiracy of the Jews.

"At the bottom every Jew is a Bolshevik!" was the constant theme of Rosenberg's tirades.

Out of Alfred Rosenberg's dark tortured mind, his pathological hatred for the Jews and frenzied enmity toward the Soviets, there was gradually evolving a world philosophy of counter-revolution,

compounded of the fanatical prejudices of Czarist Russia and the imperialistic ambitions of Germany. The salvation of the world from "decadent Jewish democracy and Bolshevism," Rosenberg wrote in *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, was to begin "in Germany" with the creation of a new German state. "It is the duty of the founder of the new State," he added, "to form an association of men on the lines of the Teutonic Order".

The idea of a holy crusade against Soviet Russia dominated all of Rosenberg's writings. He longed for the apocalyptic day when the mightily armies of the new "Teutonic Order" would pour across the Russian frontiers and smash the hateful Bolsheviks. "From west to east is the direction," he declared, "from the Rhine to the Weichsel, 'from west to east' it must resound, from Moscow to Tomsk".

Germany was passing through its period of bitter post-war crisis, of mass unemployment, of unprecedented inflation and widespread hunger. Behind the democratic facade of the Weimar Republic, which had been established in collusion with the German High Command after the bloody suppression of the German workers' and soldiers' soviets, a cabal of Prussian militarists, *Junkers* and industrial magnates were furtively planning the rebirth and expansion of Imperial Germany. Unknown to the rest of the world, Germany's future re-armament programme was being carefully mapped out by hundreds of engineers, draftsmen and special technicians, working under the supervision of the German High Command, in a secret research and planning laboratory constructed by the firm of Borsig in a forest outside Berlin.

The plans for Germany's new war were being elaborately and diligently prepared. . . .

Among the chief financial contributors to the secret campaign for rejuvenating German Imperialism was a suave, energetic industrialist whose name was Arnold Rechberg. A former personal adjutant of the Crown Prince and a close friend of the members of the old Imperial High Command, Rechberg was associated with the great German potash trust.

Rechberg arranged to meet Rosenberg. Taking an immediate liking to the counter-revolutionary zealot from Reval, Rechberg introduced him to another of his proteges, a thirty-year-old Austrian rabble-rouser and Reichswehr spy named Adolf Hitler.

Rechberg was already providing funds to buy the uniforms and to meet various other expenses of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party. Now Rechberg and his wealthy friends purchased an obscure newspaper, the *Volksischer Beobachter*, and turned it over to the Nazi movement. The publication became the official organ of the Nazi Party. As its editor, Hitler appointed Alfred Rosenberg. . . .

3. THE HOFFMAN PLAN

Alfred Rosenberg was to supply the political ideology of the German Nazi Party. Another of Reichberg's friends, General Max

Hoffmann, was to provide the military strategy.

At the start of the First World War, Hoffmann had been appointed Chief of Operations of the Eighth German Army stationed in East Prussia to meet the anticipated Russian blow. The strategy which brought about the Czarist debacle at Tannenberg was later credited by military authorities not to Hindenburg or Ludendorff, but to Hoffmann. After Tannenberg, Hoffmann became the commander of the German forces on the Eastern Front. At Brest-Litovsk, he dictated Germany's peace terms to the Soviet delegation.

In the early spring of 1919, General Max Hoffmann had presented himself at the Paris Peace Conference with his ready-made Plan for a march on Moscow to be headed by the German Army. From Hoffmann's viewpoint his Plan had a double advantage: it would not only "save Europe from Bolshevism;" it would at the same time save the German Imperial Army and prevent its dissolution. A modified form of Hoffmann's Plan had been endorsed by Marshal Foch.

Following a visit to General Hoffmann in Berlin in 1923, the British Ambassador Lord D'Abernon recorded in his diplomatic diary:—

All his opinions are governed by his general conception that . . . nothing can go right in the world until the civilised Powers of the West come together and hang the Soviet Government . . . Asked if he believed in the possibility of any unity between France, Germany and England to attack Russia, he replied: "It is such a necessity, it must come!"

In the post-war years, after the failure of armed intervention against Soviet Russia, Hoffmann brought out a new version of his Plan, and began circulating it, in the form of a confidential Memorandum among the General Staffs of Europe. The Memorandum immediately aroused keen interest in Europe's growing pro-fascist circles. Marshal Foch and his Chief of Staff, Petain, both of whom were close personal friends of Hoffmann expressed their warm approval of the revised Plan. Among the other personalities who gave the Plan their endorsement were Franz von Papen, General Baron Karl von Mannerheim, Admiral Horthy and the British Director of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Sir Barry Domville.

The Hoffmann Plan, in its later versions gained the backing of a large and powerful section of the German High Command, although it clearly represented a radical departure from the traditional Bismarckian school of German military and political strategy. The new Hoffmann Plan projected a German alliance with France, Italy, England and Poland, based on a common cause against Soviet Russia. Strategically, in the word of a prescient European commentator, Ernst Henri, in his book, *H Hitler Over Russia*, the plan called for

concentration of new armies on the Vistula and the Dvina on the model of Napoleon; lightning march, under German command,

on the retreating Bolshevik hordes; occupation of Leningrad and Moscow in the course of a few weeks; final clean-up of the country down to the Urals — and so the salvation of an exhausted civilisation through the conquest of half a continent.

The whole of Europe, under German leadership, was to be mobilized and hurled against the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Strange Career of a Terrorist

1. THE RETURN OF SIDNEY REILLY

BERLIN, December, 1922. A German naval officer and a British Intelligence officer were chatting in the crowded lounge of the famous Hotel Adlon with a young, pretty, fashionably dressed woman. She was a London musical comedy star, Pepita Bobadilla, otherwise known as Mrs. Chambers, widow of the successful British dramatist, Haddon Chambers. The subject of espionage came up. The Englishman began talking about the extraordinary exploits in Soviet Russia of a British Intelligence agent to whom he referred as Mr. C. The German was familiar with Mr. C.'s reputation. They regaled one another with anecdotes of his fabulous adventures. Finally, unable to restrain her curiosity any longer, Mrs. Chambers asked, "Who is this Mr. C?"

"Who is he not?" replied the Englishman. "I tell you, Mrs. Chambers, this Mr. C. is a man of mystery. He is the most mysterious man in Europe. And incidentally I should say he has a bigger price on his head than any man breathing. The Bolsheviks would give a province for him dead or alive. . . . He's a man that lives on danger. He has been our eyes and ears in Russia on many an occasion, and, between ourselves, he alone is responsible for Bolshevism not being a bigger danger to Western civilisation than it is at present."

Mrs. Chambers was eager to hear more about the mysterious Mr. C. Her companion smiled. "I saw him this afternoon," the Englishman said. "He's staying here in the Adlon Hotel . . ."

That same evening Mrs. Chambers had her first glimpse of Mr. C. He was, she later wrote, "a well-groomed and well-tailored figure" with "a lean, rather sombre face" and "an expression, which might almost have been sardonic, the expression of a man, who not once, but many times had laughed in the face of death." Mrs. Chambers fell in love with him at first sight.

They were introduced. Mr. C. talked to Mrs. Chambers that evening "of the state of Europe, of Russia, of the Cheka," above all, of the "menace of Bolshevism." He told Mrs. Chambers his real name: Captain Sidney George Reilly. . . .

Following the debacle of his 1918 conspiracy against the Soviets, Sidney Reilly had been sent back to Russia by the British Secretary of War, Winston Churchill, to help organise the espionage service

of General Denikin. Reilly also acted as liaison between Denikin and his various European anti-Soviet allies. During 1919 and 1920, the British spy had worked diligently in Paris, Warsaw and Prague, organising anti-Soviet armies and espionage-sabotage agencies. Later, he served as a semi-official agent for some of the Czarist *émigré* millionaires, including his old friend and employer, Count Tchubersky. One of the more ambitious projects Reilly helped launch during this period was the Torgprom, the cartel of the Czarist *émigré* industrialists and their Anglo-French and German partners.

As a result of his financial operations, Reilly had amassed a considerable personal fortune and held directorships in a number of firms formerly associated with Russian big business. He had developed important international contacts, and counted among his personal friends Winston Churchill, General Max Hoffmann and the Finnish Chief of Staff Wallenius.

The British spy's fanatical hatred of Soviet Russia had not diminished. The annihilation of Bolshevism was now the dominating motive of his life. His passionate interest in Napoleon, the would-be conqueror of Russia, had led him to become one of the world's most enthusiastic collectors of Napoleoniana. The value of his collection ran into the tens of thousands of dollars. The personality of the Corsican dictator fascinated him.

"A Corsican lieutenant of artillery trod out the embers of the French Revolution," said Sidney Reilly. "Surely a British espionage agent with so many factors on his side, could make himself master of Moscow?"

On May 18, 1923, Mrs. Chambers was married to Captain Sidney Reilly at the Registry Office in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, in London. Captain George Hill, Reilly's old accomplice from Moscow days, acted as witness.

Mrs. Chambers was soon participating in the fantastic intrigues of her husband's life. She later wrote:—

Gradually I was initiated into those strange proceedings which were going on behind the scenes of European politics. I learned how beneath the surface of every capital in Europe was simmering the conspiracy of the exiles against the present tyrants of their country. In Berlin, in Paris, in Prague, in London itself, small groups of exiles were plotting, planning, conspiring. Helsingfors (Helsinki) was absolutely seething with counter-revolution, which had been financed and abetted by several of the governments of Europe. In this whole movement Sidney was intensely interested and was devoting much time and money to the cause.

One day a mysterious visitor presented himself at Sidney Reilly's London apartment. He first introduced himself as "Mr. Warner." He had a great black beard which almost concealed his entire face, prominent cheekbones and cold, steely-blue eyes. He was a huge man, and his long loose arms hung to his knees. He produced his

credentials. They included a British passport, a voucher written and signed in Paris by the Social Revolutionary leader, Boris Savinkov, and a letter of introduction by a prominent British statesman.

"I shall be in London about a week," the visitor told Reilly, "conferring with your Foreign Office."

"Mr. Warner" then revealed his identity. His real name was Drebkov, and he had been the leader of the "lives" groups in Reilly's anti-Soviet conspiratorial apparatus in Russia in 1918. He now was head of a White Russian underground organisation in Moscow.

Drebkov came to the point of his visit. "We want a *man* in Russia, Captain Reilly," he said, "a man who can command and get things done, whose commands there is no disputing, a man who will be master, a dictator, if you like, as Mussolini is in Italy, a man who will compose the feuds which disunite our friends there with an iron hand and will weld us into the weapon that will smite the present tyrants of Russia to the heart!"

"What about Savinkov?" asked Sydney Reilly. "He is in Paris, the very man for you, a really great man, a great personality, a born leader and organiser!"

2. "A BUSINESS LIKE ANY OTHER!"

Boris Savinkov, who by 1924 was being seriously considered in the inner policy-making circles at Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay as the future Dictator of Russia, was in many ways one of the most remarkable men to emerge from the chaos of the collapse of Old Russia. A slight, pallid, baldish, soft-spoken man, who was usually impeccably dressed in a frock coat and patent-leather boots, Savinkov looked more like "the manager of a bank," as Somerset Maugham once said, than the famous terrorist and ruthless counter-revolutionary he really was. His talents were many and diverse. Winston Churchill, to whom Savinkov was first introduced by Sidney Reilly, later described the Russian terrorist in his book *Great Contemporaries* as displaying "the wisdom of a statesman, the qualities of a commander, the courage of a hero, and the endurance of a martyr." Savinkov's whole life, adds Churchill, "had been spent in conspiracy."

As a young man in Czarist Russia, Savinkov had been a leading member of the Social Revolutionary Party. Together with four other leaders he headed the Party's Battle Organisation, a special terrorist committee responsible for arranging the assassination of Czarist officials. The Grand Duke Sergei, uncle of the Czar, and the Minister of the Interior, V. K. Plehve, were among the Czarist officials killed by the Battle Organisation in the early 1900's.

After the failure of the first attempt to overthrow Czarism in 1905, Boris Savinkov became somewhat disillusioned with the life of a revolutionary. He began to devote himself to literature. He wrote a sensational autobiographical novel, *The Pale Horse*, in

which he described his role in the assassinations of Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergei. He related how, disguised as a British agent, he sat in a little house on a Russian side street, with a forged British passport in his pocket and "3 kilograms of dynamite under the table," waiting day after day for the Grand Duke's carriage to pass down the street.

Years later, during the First World War, when the British novelist, Somerset Maugham, was sent into Russia by the British Secret Service to establish contact with Savinkov, he asked this Russian terrorist if it had not taken great courage to carry out these assassinations. Savinkov replied:—

"Not at all, believe me. It is a business, like any other. One gets accustomed to it."

In June, 1917, Boris Savinkov, professional assassin and novelist was appointed by Kerensky, on the advice of his Allied advisers, to the post of Political Commissar of the 7th Army on the Galicia Front. At Savinkov's insistence Kerensky made General Kornilov Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies. Savinkov himself was appointed Assistant Minister of War. He was already acting as a secret agent of the French Government and was plotting to overthrow the Kerensky regime and establish a military dictatorship under Kornilov.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, Savinkov led an anti-Soviet uprising at Yaroslav secretly financed by the French and timed to coincide with Sidney Reilly's attempted *coup d'état* in Moscow. Savinkov's forces were smashed by the Red Army, and he barely escaped with his life. Fleeing the country, he became one of the diplomatic representatives of the White Russians in Europe. As Winston Churchill wrote about Savinkov in *Great Contemporaries*: "Responsible for all the relations with the Allies and with not the less important Baltic and Border states which formed at that time the 'Sanitary Cordon' of the west, the ex-Nihilist displayed every capacity whether for command or for intrigue."

In 1920, Savinkov moved to Poland. With the aid of his good friend Marshal Pilsudski, he collected some 30,000 officers and men, armed them and began training them in preparation for another assault against Soviet Russia.

Subsequently, Savinkov moved his headquarters to Prague. There working closely with the Czech fascist General Gayda, Savinkov created an organisation known as the Green Guards, composed largely of former Czarist officers and counter-revolutionary terrorists. The Green Guards launched a series of raids across the Soviet borders, robbing, pillaging, burning farms, massacring workers and peasants, and murdering the local Soviet officials. In this activity Savinkov had the close co-operation of various European secret service agencies.

Savinkov's ruthless methods, magnetic personality and unusual organisational talents held tremendous appeal for those White Russian *émigrés* and anti-Soviet European statesmen who still dreamed of

overthrowing the Soviet Government. Occasionally, however, these persons felt a mild embarrassment because of Savinkov's record. In Paris, in 1919, when Winston Churchill was negotiating with the former Czarist Prime Minister Sazonov, the question of Savinkov came up. Churchill later described the incident in his book *Great Contemporaries*.

"How do you get on with Savinkov?" asked Churchill.

The Czar's former chief Minister made a deprecating gesture with his hands. "He is an assassin! I am astonished to be working with him! But what is one to do? He is a man most competent, full of resource and resolution. No one is so good."

Churchill had long been intrigued with the personality of this literary assassin," as he called him. Agreeing with Reilly that Savinkov was a man "to be entrusted with the command of great undertakings," Churchill decided to introduce him to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George. A confidential conference was arranged to take place at Chequers, the country retreat of British Prime Ministers in office.

Churchill and Savinkov motored out to Chequers together. "It was a Sunday," relates Churchill in *Great Contemporaries*. "The Prime Minister was entertaining several leading Free Church divines, and was himself surrounded by a band of Welsh singers who had travelled from their native principality to do him choral honors. For several hours they sang Welsh hymns in the most beautiful manner. Afterwards we had our talk."

But Lloyd George was not inclined to be stamped into having the British Government sponsor Boris Savinkov. In Lloyd George's opinion, the "worst was over" in Russia. The Bolshevik experiment — socialist control of the country's industries — would, of course, fail. The Bolshevik leaders, "confronted with the responsibilities of actual government," would give up their Communist theories or, "like Robespierre and St. Just (*sic*)," would quarrel among themselves and fall from power.

As for the "world Communist menace," about which Churchill and the British Intelligence Service seemed to be so agitated, it simply did not exist, said Lloyd George. . . .

"Mr. Prime Minister," Boris Savinkov observed in his grave, formal manner, when Lloyd George had finished, "you will permit me the honor of observing that after the fall of the Roman Empire there ensued the Dark Ages!"

-Moscow TRIAL, 1924-

The death of Lenin on January 21, 1924, gave rise to fervent new hopes in Reilly's mind. His agents in Russia reported that the opposition elements within the country were greatly intensifying their efforts to come to power. Within the Bolshevik Party itself, the differences were manifesting themselves, and there seemed to be the possibility of exploiting a real split. From Reilly's point of view, it was a highly strategic moment to strike.

Reilly had made up his mind that his old plans for the restoration of Czarism were outdated. Russia had moved away from Czarism. Reilly believed that a dictatorship would have to be set up based on the richer peasants (kulaks) and various army and political forces hostile to the Soviet Government. He was convinced that Boris Savinkov was the ideal man to introduce into Russia the sort of regime which Mussolini headed in Italy. The British spy travelled from one European capital to another trying to persuade the Intelligence Services and General Staffs to support Savinkov's cause.

One of the most important personalities to be drawn into the anti-Soviet campaign at this time was Sir Henri Wilhelm August Deterding, Dutch-born Knight of the British Empire and head of the great British international oil trust, Royal Dutch Shell. Deterding was destined to become the world's foremost financial backer and big-business spokesman of the anti-Bolshevik cause.

Through Reilly's efforts, the British oil king became interested in the Torgprom, the organisation of the Czarist *émigré* millionaires. From Lianozov and Mantashev in Paris, and other Torgprom members in Europe, Deterding shrewdly bought up the paper rights to some of the most important oil fields in Soviet Russia. Early in 1924, having failed to gain control of Soviet oil by diplomatic pressure, the British oil king declared himself to be the "owner" of Russian oil and denounced the Soviet regime as unlawful and outside the pale of civilisation. With all the immense resources of his wealth, influence and innumerable secret agents, Sir Henri Deterding declared war on Soviet Russia with the frank intention of gaining possession of the rich oil wells of the Soviet Caucasus.

Deterding's intervention placed a new emphasis on Sidney Reilly's campaign. The British spy promptly drew up a concrete plan of attack on Soviet Russia and submitted it to interested members of the European General Staffs. The plan, a variant of the Hoffmann Plan, involved both political and military action.

Reilly's plan won the approval and endorsement of the anti-Bolshevik leaders of the French, Polish, Finnish and Rumanian General Staffs. The British Foreign Office was definitely interested in the scheme to sever the Caucasus from Russia. The Italian Fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, summoned Boris Savinkov to Rome for a special conference. Mussolini wanted to meet the "Russian dictator." He offered to provide Savinkov's agents with Italian passports to facilitate their travelling in and out of Russia while preparing for the attack. In addition, Il Duce agreed to instruct his Fascist legations and his secret police, the OVRA, to render Savinkov every possible assistance. . . .

In Reilly's words, "A great counter-revolutionary plot was nearing completion."

On August, 10, 1924, after a long final discussion with Reilly, Boris Savinkov, equipped with an Italian passport, left for Russia. He was accompanied by a few trusted aides and lieutenants of his

Green Guards. Once he had crossed the Soviet border, he was to make the last-minute preparations for the general uprising. Every precaution had been taken to insure that Savinkov's identity would not be disclosed, or his safety endangered. The moment he reached Soviet territory, he was to be met by representatives of the White underground movement who had obtained positions as Soviet officials in the border towns. Savinkov was to send a message by secret courier to Reilly as soon as he arrived.

Days passed, and no word came from Savinkov. In Paris, Reilly waited with growing impatience and anxiety, unable to make a move until the courier arrived. A week elapsed. Two weeks. . . .

Then Reilly found out what had happened to Boris Savinkov. On August 29, 1924, the Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*, announced that "the former terrorist and counter-revolutionary Boris Savinkov" had been arrested by the Soviet authorities "after he had attempted to make a secret entry across the Soviet border."

Savinkov and his aides had crossed the border from Poland. They had been met on Soviet soil by a group of men whom they believed to be co-conspirators and conducted to a house in Minsk. No sooner had they arrived than an armed Soviet officer had appeared and announced that the house was surrounded. Savinkov and his companions had fallen into a trap.

The arrest of Savinkov and the collapse of the plot were a bitter enough disappointment for Sidney Reilly and his friends; but the public trial of Savinkov, which took place shortly afterwards in Moscow, proved to be the most severe blow of all. To the horror and amazement of the many prominent personalities who had been implicated in his plotting, Boris Savinkov proceeded to relate the details of the whole conspiracy. He calmly informed the Soviet court that he had known all along he was walking into a trap when he crossed the Soviet border. "You have done a good job in getting me into your net," Savinkov had told the Soviet officer who arrested him. "As a matter of fact, I suspected a trap. But I decided to come to Russia anyway. I'll tell you why . . . I have decided to quit my struggle against you!"

Savinkov said that his eyes had finally been opened to the futility and evil of the anti-Soviet movement. He pictured himself before the court as an honest but misguided Russian patriot who had been gradually disillusioned in the character and aims of his associates.

Savinkov said that the anti-Soviet elements abroad were not interested in supporting his movement for its own sake but only for the sake of obtaining Russian oil wells and other mineral riches. "They spoke to me very much and very persistently," said Savinkov of his British advisers, "as to it being desirable to set up an independent South-Eastern Federation consisting of Northern and Trans-Caucasia. They said this Federation would only be the beginning, as Azerbaijan and Georgia would be joined to it later. Here one smelt the odor of petroleum."

Savinkov described his dealings with Winston Churchill.

"Churchill once showed me a map of South Russia, in which the positions of Denikin's and your army were indicated with little flags. I still remember how shocked I was when I went to him and he, pointing to the Denikin flags, said suddenly: 'This here is my army!' I did not reply but stood as if rooted to the spot. I was going to leave the room, but then I thought if I made a scandal here and shut the door on myself, our soldiers in Russia would be left without boots."

"For what reason did the English and French supply you with these boots, shells, machine-guns, and so forth?" asked the president of the court.

"Officially, they had very noble aims," replied Savinkov. "We were faithful allies, you were traitors, et cetera. In the background there was the following: as a minimum, well, petroleum is a very desirable thing. As a maximum: let the Russians squabble among themselves, the fewer there are left living the better. Russia will be all the weaker."

Savinkov's sensational testimony lasted two days. He told of his whole career as a conspirator. He named the well-known statesmen and financiers in England, France and other European countries who had given him assistance. He said he had unwittingly become their tool.

The Soviet court sentenced Boris Savinkov to death as a traitor to his country, but because of the completeness and candor of his testimony, the sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment . . . *

As soon as the news of Savinkov's arrest, and the even greater bombshell of his recantation, reached Paris, Sidney Reilly had hurried back to London to confer with his superiors. On September 8, 1924, a lengthy and extraordinary statement by Reilly appeared in the *Morning Post*, the organ of British Tory anti-Bolshevism. Reilly declared that Savinkov's public trial in Moscow had actually never taken place. He stated categorically that Savinkov had really been shot while crossing the Soviet frontier, and that the trial was a colossal fraud:—

Savinkov was killed while attempting to cross the Russian frontier, and a mock trial, with one of their own agents as chief actor, was staged by the Cheka in Moscow behind closed doors.**

*Savinkov was treated with remarkable consideration by the Soviet authorities while he was in prison. He was allowed special privileges, given all the books he desired, and granted facilities for writing. But he pined for liberty. On May 7, 1925, he wrote a long appeal to Felix Dzerzinsky, the head of Cheka, pleading for pardon, and offering to do anything the Government would require of him. His plea was rejected. Soon after, Savinkov committed suicide by throwing himself from a four-story window in the prison.

**This was the first of many extravagant "explanations" given by enemies of the Soviet Union during the years following the Revolution in an attempt to discredit the admissions made by foreign conspirators and Russian traitors in Soviet courts of law. These "explanations" reached their peak during the so-called Moscow Trials (1936-1938). See Book III.

Reilly vigorously defended Savinkov's staunchness as an anti-Soviet conspirator:—

I claim the privilege of having been one of his most intimate friends and devoted followers, and on me revolves the sacred duty of vindicating his honor. . . . I have spent every day with Savinkov up to the day of his departure for the Soviet frontier. I have been in his fullest confidence, and his plans have been elaborated conjointly with me.

Reilly's statement concluded with an appeal to the editor of the *Morning Post*:—

Sir, I appeal to you, whose organ has always been the professed champion of anti-Bolshevism and anti-Communism, to help me vindicate the name and honor of Boris Savinkov!

At the same time, Reilly dispatched a private, carefully worded letter to Winston Churchill:—

Dear Mr. Churchill,

The disaster which has overtaken Boris Savinkov has undoubtedly produced the most painful impression upon you. Neither I nor any of his intimate friends and co-workers have so far been able to obtain any reliable news about his fate. Our conviction is that he had fallen a victim to the vilest and most daring intrigue the Cheka has ever attempted. Our opinion is expressed in the letter which I am to-day sending to the *Morning Post*. Knowing your invariably kind interest I take the liberty of enclosing a copy for your information.

I am, dear Mr. Churchill,

Yours very faithfully,

SIDNEY REILLY

The unquestionable authenticity of the trial, however, was soon established, and Reilly was compelled to send another letter to the *Morning Post*. It read:—

The detailed and in many instances stenographic Press reports of Savinkov's trial, supported by the testimony of reliable and impartial eye-witnesses, have established Savinkov's treachery beyond all possibility of doubt. He has not only betrayed his friends, his organisation, and his cause, but he has deliberately and completely gone over to his former enemies . . . By his act Savinkov has erased forever his name from the scroll of honor of the anti-Communist movement.

His former friends and followers grieve over this terrible and inglorious downfall, but those amongst them who under no circumstances will practise with the enemies of mankind are unmoved. The moral suicide of their former leaders is for them an added incentive to close their ranks and to "carry on."

Yours etc.,

SIDNEY REILLY

Shortly afterwards, Reilly received a discreet note from Winston Churchill:—

CHARTWELL MANOR,
WESTERHAM, KENT.
15th September, 1924

Dear Mr. Reilly,

I am very interested in your letter. The event has turned out as I myself expected at the very first. I do not think you should judge Savinkov too harshly. He was placed in a terrible position; and only those who have sustained successfully such an ordeal have a full right to pronounce censure. At any rate I shall wait to hear the end of the story before changing my view about Savinkov.

Yours very truly,

W. S. CHURCHILL

The publication of Savinkov's confession and testimony was deeply embarrassing to those in England who had supported his cause. In the midst of the scandal, Reilly was hastily packed off to the United States. Churchill temporarily retired to his country residence in Kent. The British Foreign Office maintained a discreet silence.

A sensational epilogue was yet to come.

Towards the end of October, 1924, a few days before the British General Elections, banner headlines in Lord Rothermere's *Daily Mail* abruptly announced that Scotland Yard had uncovered a sinister Soviet plot against Britain. As documentary proof of the plot, the *Daily Mail* published the notorious "Zinoviev Letter" purporting to be instructions sent by Grigori Zinoviev, the Russian Comintern leader, to the British Communists on how to combat the Tories in the coming election.

This was the Tory reply to Savinkov's confession; and it had its effect. The Tories won the elections on a violently anti-Bolshevik platform.

Several years later, Sir Wyndham Childs of Scotland Yard stated that there had never really been any letter by Zinoviev. The document was a forgery, and various foreign agents had been involved in its preparation. It had originally emanated from the Berlin office of Colonel Walther Nicolai, former head of the Imperial German Military Intelligence, who was now working closely with the Nazi Party. Under Nicolai's supervision, a Baltic White Guard named Baron Uexkuell, who was later to head a Nazi press service, had established in the German capital a special bureau for forging anti-Soviet documents and arranging for these "forgeries" to receive the widest possible distribution and the most effective publicity.

The actual introduction of the forged Zinoviev Letter to the British Foreign Office and subsequently to the *Daily Mail* was said to have been accomplished by George Bell, a mysterious international agent. Bell was on the payroll of the Anglo-Dutch oil magnate, Sir Henri Deterding.

CHAPTER NINE

To the Finnish Frontier

1. ANTI-BOLSHEVISM ON BROADWAY

A WELCOMING delegation of White Russians was at the dock to greet the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, the ship which brought Captain Sidney Reilly and his wife to America in the fall of 1924. There were flowers, champagne, and ardent speeches hailing the "hero of the anti-Bolshevik crusade."

Reilly was soon at home in the United States. He opened a private office on lower Broadway which rapidly became the headquarters of the anti-Soviet and White Russian conspirators in the United States. Vast quantities of anti-Soviet propaganda were soon emanating from Reilly's office and being mailed throughout the United States to influential editors, columnists, educators, politicians and businessmen. Reilly undertook a cross-country lecture tour to inform the public of the "menace of Bolshevism and its threat to civilisation and world trade." He held a number of "confidential talks" with small, select groups of Wall Street men and wealthy industrialists in a number of American cities.

Reilly's main undertaking was to create on American soil a branch of the International Anti-Bolshevik League, which would lend powerful support to the diverse anti-Soviet conspiracies which he was promoting in Europe and Russia. Branches of Reilly's League were already operating in Berlin, London, Paris and Rome, as well as throughout the *cordon sanitaire* Baltic and Balkan States. In the Far East a branch of the League, financed by Japan, had been set up in Harbin, Manchuria, under the leadership of the notorious Cossack terrorist, Ataman Semyonov. In the United States no organised apparatus of such a nature existed. There was, however, excellent material from which to create one. . . .

Reilly's White Russian friends had soon introduced him to their most influential and wealth American contacts, who might be willing to contribute large sums to help finance his anti-Soviet movement.

"As regards money, the market for this kind of undertaking is here and only here," Reilly wrote that year in a confidential letter to one of his agents in Europe, "but to obtain money one must come here with a very definite and very plausible scheme, and with very substantial proof that the minority interest is able within a reasonable time to undertake and to carry out a reorganisation of the business."

The "minority interest" to which Reilly referred in his code language was the anti-Soviet movement in Russia. The "re-organisation of the business" meant the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Reilly added:—

With such premises, it would be possible to approach here in the first instance the largest automobile manufacturer, who

could be interested in the patents provided proof (not merely talk) was given him that the patents will work. Once his interest is gained the question of money can be considered solved.

According to Mrs. Reilly's memoirs, her husband was speaking of Henry Ford.

Like Henri Deterding in England and Fritz Thyssen in Germany, the American automobile king, Henry Ford, had identified himself with world anti-Bolshevism and with the rapidly developing phenomenon of fascism. According to the February 8, 1923 edition of the *New York Times*, Vice-President of the Bavarian Diet publicly stated:—

The Bavarian Diet has long had information that the Hitler movement was partly financed by an American anti-Semitic chief, who is Henry Ford. Mr. Ford's interest in the Bavian anti-Jewish movement began a year ago when one of Mr. Ford's agents came in contact with Dietrich Eichart, the notorious Pan-German . . . The agent returned to America and immediately Mr. Ford's money began coming to Munich.

Herr Hitler openly boasted of Mr. Ford's support and praises Mr. Ford not as a great individualist but as a great anti-Semite.

In the small, unimpressive office on Cornelius Street in Munich which was Adolf Hitler's headquarters, a single framed photograph hung on the wall. The picture was of Henry Ford.

2. THE LAST OF SIDNEY REILLY

Through Reilly's efforts, contact was established between the anti-Semitic and anti-democratic movement in the United States and the branches of the International Anti-Bolshevik League in Europe and Asia. As early as the spring of 1925, the basic framework for an international fascist propaganda and espionage centre operating under the mask of "anti-Bolshevism" had thus been created . . .

Meanwhile, Reilly maintained close touch with his agents in Europe. Mail reached him regularly from Reval, Helsinki, Rome, Berlin and other centres of anti-Soviet intrigue. Much of this mail, addressed to Reilly at his Broadway office, was written in cipher or in invisible ink on the back of innocuous-seeming business letters.

Early that spring, Reilly received a letter postmarked Reval, Estonia, which greatly excited him. The letter, written in code, came from an old friend, Commander E., who had served with Reilly in the British Intelligence Service during the World War, and who was now attached to the British Consular Service in one of the Baltic countries. The letter, which was dated January 24, 1925, began:—

Dear Sidney:

There may call on you in Paris from me two persons named Krashnoshtanov, a man and wife. They will say they have a

communication from California and hand you a note consisting of a verse from Omar Khayam (*sic*) which you will remember. If you wish to go further into their business you must ask them to remain. If the business is of no interest you will say "Thank you very much, Good Day."

In code used by Commander E. and Reilly, "Krasnoshtanov" meant an anti-Soviet agent named Schultz and his wife; "California" meant the Soviet Union; and the "verse from Omar Khayam" meant a special message in secret code. Commander E.'s letter continued:—

Now as to their business. They are representatives of a concern which will in all probability have a big influence in the future on the European and American markets. They do not anticipate that their business will fully develop for two years, *but circumstances may arise which will give them the desired impetus in the near future.* It is a very big business and one which it does not do to talk about. . . .

Commander E. went on to say that a "German group" was very much interested in participating in the "deal," and that a "French group" and an "English group" were becoming actively involved.

Referring once more to the "concern," which he indicated was operating in Russia, Commander E. wrote:—

They refuse at present to disclose to anyone the name of the man at the back of this enterprise. I can tell you this much—that some of the chief persons are members of the opposition groups. You can therefore fully understand the necessity for secrecy. . . . I am introducing this scheme to you thinking it might perhaps replace the other big scheme you were working on but which fell through in such a disastrous manner.

Sidney Reilly and his wife left New York on August 6, 1925. They arrived in Paris the following month, and Reilly immediately proceeded to contact the Schultzes about whom Commanded E. had written. They outlined the situation inside Russia, where, since Lenin's death, the opposition movement associated with Leon Trotsky had been organised into an extensive underground apparatus which aimed at overthrowing the Stalin regime.

Reilly was soon convinced of the major importance of the new developments. He was eager to make personal contact as soon as possible with the leaders of the anti-Stalin faction in Russia. Messages were exchanged through secret agents. It was finally arranged that Reilly should meet an important representative of the movement on the Soviet frontier. Reilly left for Helsinki to see the Chief of Staff of the Finnish Army, one of his close personal friends and member of his Anti-Bolshevik League, who was to make the necessary arrangements to get Reilly across the Soviet border

Shortly afterwards, Reilly wrote to his wife, who had remained in Paris, "There is really something entirely new, powerful and worthwhile going on in Russia."

A week later, on September 25, 1925, Reilly dispatched a last note to his wife from Viborg, Finland, saying:—

It is absolutely necessary that I should go for three days to Petrograd and Moscow. I am leaving to-night and will be back here on Tuesday morning. . .

That was the last letter to be written by Captain Sidney Reilly to the British Secret Intelligence Service.

After several weeks elapsed, and Mrs. Reilly still had no word from her husband, she got in touch with Marie Schultz, Reilly's confederate in Paris. Mrs. Reilly later recorded the interview in her memoirs.

"When your husband arrived here," Mrs. Schultz told Mrs. Reilly, "I explained to him the exact state of affairs as far as our organization was concerned. On our side we have some of the principal Bolshevik officials in Moscow, who are anxious to bring the present regime to an end, if only their safety can be guaranteed."

Captain Reilly, continued Mrs. Schultz, had been inclined to be skeptical at first. He said that foreign aid for a new venture against Soviet Russia could be enlisted only if the conspiratorial group inside the country had some real strength.

"I assured him," said Mrs. Schultz, "that our organization in Russia was powerful, influential and well-knit."

Mrs. Schultz went on to relate how a meeting between Reilly and representatives of the Russian conspiratorial apparatus had been arranged to take place at Viborg, Finland. "Captain Reilly was much impressed by them," said Mrs. Schultz, "particularly by their leader, a very highly placed Bolshevik official who beneath the cover of his office is one of the most ardent enemies of the present regime."

The following day, accompanied by Finnish patrol guards who had been especially assigned to the task, Reilly and the Russian conspirators set out for the frontier. "For my part," Mrs. Schultz related, "I went as far as the frontier to wish them Godspeed." They remained at a Finnish blockhouse beside a river until nightfall. "For a long time we waited while the Finns listened anxiously for the Red patrol, but everything was quiet. At last one of the Finns lowered himself cautiously into the water and half swam, half waded across. Your husband followed. . . .

That was the last Mrs. Schultz saw of Captain Reilly.

When Mrs. Schultz had concluded her story, she handed Mr. Reilly a clipping from the Russian newspaper, *Izvestia*. It read:—

The night of September 28-29, four contrabandists tried to pass the Finnish frontier with the result that two were killed, one

a Finnish soldier, taken prisoner and the fourth so badly wounded that he died. . . .

The facts, as they later came out, were these. Reilly had successfully crossed the Soviet border and interviewed certain members of the Russian anti-Stalin opposition. He was on his way back and was nearing the Finnish border when he and his bodyguards were suddenly accosted by a unit of the Soviet Border Guards. Reilly and the others tried to escape. The Border Guards opened fire. A bullet hit Reilly in the forehead, killing him instantly.

Not until several days later did the Soviet authorities identify the "contrabandist" they had killed. When they had done so, they formally announced the death of Captain Sidney George Reilly of the British Secret Intelligence Service.

The London *Times* carried a two-line obituary: "*Sidney George Reilly killed September 28 by G.P.U. troops at the village of Allekul, Russia.*"

CHAPTER TEN

Overture with War Drums

A VIOLENT storm was brewing beneath the seeming calm of the middle nineteen-twenties. Enormous colonial and semi-colonial areas of the earth, stirred with new hopes of freedom by the example of the Russian Revolution, were awakening to nationhood and threatening to upset the whole topheavy structure of colonial imperialism. . . .

The storm broke in the spring of 1926. Revolution flared in China where a united front of Kuomintang and Communist forces overthrew the corrupt Peking dictatorship, the puppet regime of Western imperialism, and established a Free China.

The event was heralded by an outburst of horrified and desperate anti-Soviet propaganda throughout Asia and the Western World. The Chinese Revolution, representing the upsurge of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples against foreign and domestic oppression, was violently attacked as the direct outcome of a "Moscow plot".

The Emperor of Japan promptly expressed his willingness to serve as a "bulwark against Bolshevism" in Asia. Encouraged by the Western powers, Japan prepared to intervene in China to put down the Revolution.

In March, 1927, the Chinese war lord and notorious Japanese puppet, Chang Tso-lin, staged a raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking, and announced he had discovered evidence of a Bolshevik plot against China. It was the signal for the launching of the Chinese counter-revolution. Encouraged by Japanese and Anglo-French offers of subsidies, arms and recognition, the Kuomintang forces under Chiang Kai-shek suddenly broke the united front and attacked their revolutionary allies. A massacre followed. Thousands of Chinese workers, students and peasants suspected of liberal or Communist sympathies were seized in Shanghai, Peking and elsewhere and shot or impris-

oned in concentration camps and tortured to death. Civil war swayed China.

But the Chinese Revolution had unleashed the latent freedom movements throughout Asia. Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma and India were seething. Seriously alarmed, the imperialists looked to Japan to protect them from "Bolshevism". At the same time, in Europe the General Staffs again dragged out of their pigeonholes the plans for the anti-Bolshevik crusade and the general assault on Moscow.

At the International diplomatic conference at Locarno, throughout 1925-1926, the Anglo-French diplomats had been feverishly negotiating with Germany for joint action against Soviet Russia.

In France, Raymond Poincaré, the French Premier, publicly advocated a combined military offensive of the European powers, including Germany, against Soviet Russia.

In Berlin, the German imperialist and anti-democratic press announced that the hour had come to smash Bolshevism. After a series of conferences with Reichswehr generals and industrialists close to the Nazi Party, General Max Hoffmann hastened to London to submit his famous Plan to the British Foreign Office and to a select group of Tory members of Parliament and military men.

On the morning of January 5, 1926, the *London Morning Post* published an extraordinary letter signed by Sir Henri Deterding. In this letter, Deterding proclaimed that plans were afoot to start a new war of intervention against Soviet Russia. Deterding declared:

... before many months, Russia will come back to civilization, but under a better government than the Czarist one. . . . Bolshevism in Russia will be over before this year is; and, as soon as it is, Russia can draw on all the world's credit and open her frontiers to all willing to work. Money and credit will then flow into Russia, and, what is better still, labor.

A well-known French journalist of the Right, Jacques Bainville, commented in Paris: "If the President of the Royal Dutch has given a date for the end of the Soviet regime, it is because he has reasons for doing so. . . ."

On May 27, 1927, British police and secret service agents raided the offices of Arcos, the Soviet trading organization in London. They arrested the employees and searched the premises, breaking into files and strongboxes and even drilling holes in the floors, ceilings and walls in search of "secret archives". No documents of an incriminating nature were found; but the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Mail* and other anti-Soviet papers published wild stories of "evidence" of Soviet plots against Britain allegedly uncovered by the Arcos raid.

The British Tory Government broke off diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union.

That same summer, raids were made on Soviet Consulates and other official agencies in Berlin and Paris. In June, the Soviet A

ambassador to Poland, V. I. Voikov, was assassinated in Warsaw. Bombs were hurled into a Bolshevik Party meeting in Leningrad. . .

Marshal Foch, in an interview with the *London Sunday Referee* on August 21, 1927, clearly indicated the direction in which all this violence was heading.

"In February, 1919, in the early days of Leninism," stated Foch, "I declared to the Ambassadors' Conference meeting in Paris that, if the states surrounding Russia were supplied with munitions and the news of war, I would undertake to stamp out the Bolshevik menace once and for all. I was overruled on the grounds of war-cautiousness, but the sequel soon showed I was right."

To Arnold Rechberg, one of the leading promoters of the Nazi movement in Germany, Marshal Foch sent a letter, saying:—

I am not foolish enough to believe that one can leave a handful of criminal tyrants to rule over more than half the continent and over vast Asiatic territories. But nothing can be done so long as France and Germany are not united. I beg you to convey my greetings to General Hoffman, the great protagonist of the anti-Bolshevist military alliance.

The stage was set for war. . . .

No overt move was planned until the summer of 1930. The French were unprepared. Disagreements as to "spheres of influence in the liberated territories" had broken out between the various groups. The British and the French groups quarreled over control of the Caucasus and the Donets coal fields; both opposed German claims to the Ukraine. Nevertheless, Sir Henri Deterding, the real leader of the movement, remained optimistic that these differences could be resolved and confidently predicted the beginning of the war by the summer of 1930.

On June 15, 1930, replying to a letter he had received from a White Russian, who thanked him for money received, Deterding wrote:—

If you really desire to express your gratitude, I would ask you to do the following: Endeavor in the new Russia, which will rearise within a few months, to be one of the best sons of your fatherland.

The following month Sir Henri Deterding was the main speaker at a meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Russian Ecole Normale in Paris, a military academy for the sons of White Russian officers and aristocrats. The function was attended by Czarist *emigre* princes and princesses, bishops, generals, admirals and lesser officers. Side by side with them stood high-ranking members of the French Army, dressed in full parade uniform.

Deterding began his speech by telling those assembled that there was no need to thank him for the assistance he was giving their work

since he was only fulfilling his duty to Western civilization. Addressing himself to a group of young uniformed White Russians in the audience, he said:—

The hour of emancipation of your great fatherland is at hand.

The entire audience, the French officers no less enthusiastically than the White Russians, applauded Sir Henri's next statement:—

The liberation of Russia will take place much sooner than we all think. It may even be the matter of a few months!

In the midst of these war preparations came an unexpected and catastrophic interruption: the World Crisis.

Unemployment, hunger, mass demoralization and destitution were the inevitable accompaniments of the economic crash which, beginning in Wall Street, soon swept like a hurricane across Europe and Asia, involving all the nations which were to have composed the Holy Alliance against Bolshevism.

Great banks and industrial concerns were crashing almost daily; small investors were ruined; the workers were turned out in the streets. While the millions starved, wheat rotted in the crammed silos; surplus corn was plowed back into the earth; coffee was used for stoking furnaces; fish were thrown back into the sea. The world could no longer pay for the commodities it had produced in overabundance. An entire system of economic distribution had broken down.

Early in 1931, Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, wrote to M. Moret, Governor of the Banque de France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year."

A world had tumbled in ruins and amidst the appalling wreckage, whole nations of baffled human beings wandered like lost souls. . . .

In the Far East, Japan saw her opportunity. On the night of September 18, 1931, Japanese military forces invaded Manchuria. The Chinese Kuomintang armies, still fighting a civil war against the Chinese Communists, were taken by surprise and offered little resistance. Japan swept through Manchuria "to save China from Bolshevism."

The Second World War had begun—not quite as it had been planned.

Two years later Adolf Hitler seized supreme power in Germany.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Death of an Era

THE propaganda myth of the "menace of Bolshevism" had put Nazism in power. Under the pretext of saving Germany from Communism, Adolf Hitler had risen from an obscure Austrian corporal and Reichswehr spy to become Chancellor of the German Reich. On the night

of February 27, 1933, Hitler rose even higher by means of a supreme act of provocation: the burning of the German Reichstag. The fire, set by the Nazis themselves, was proclaimed by Hitler to be the signal for a Communist uprising against the Government of Germany. With this excuse, the Nazis declared a state of emergency, imprisoned or murdered leading anti-fascists, and smashed the trade-unions. Out of the charred ruins of the Reichstag, Hitler emerged as Der Fuehrer of the Third Reich.

The Third Reich replaced the White Counterrevolution of Czarism as the world's bulwark of reaction and anti-democracy. Nazism was the apotheosis of the Counterrevolution, equipped with the tremendous industrial and military resources of resurgent German Imperialism. Its political creed was a resurrection of the dark hatreds and financial prejudices of Czarism. Its Storm Troops were the old Black Hundreds reborn and raised to the status of a regular military apparatus. Mass pogroms and extermination of whole peoples were part of the official program of the Government of the Third Reich. The *Protocols of Zion* provided the Nazi ideology. The Nazi leaders themselves were the spiritual offspring of the Baron Wrangels and Ungerns of the White Terror in Russia.

The fifteen years of the false peace and the secret war against world democracy and progress under the slogan of "anti-Bolshevism" had borne their inevitable fruit. The flames that burned the Reichstag were soon to spread and multiply until they menaced the entire globe. . . .

"We start anew where we terminated six centuries ago," wrote Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. "We reverse the eternal Germanic emigration to the South and West of Europe and look Eastwards. In this way we bring to an end the colonial and trade policies of the pre-War times and pass over to the territorial policy of the future. If we speak of new soil we can but think first of Russia and her subject border states."

The lure of "anti-Bolshevism" drew as by a powerful magnet the forces of world reaction and imperialism to the support of Adolf Hitler.

The same statesmen and militarists who had formerly supported every White intrigue and conspiracy against Soviet Russia now emerged as the chief apologists and promoters of Nazism. In France, the anti-Bolshevik circle which had surrounded Marshal Foch, and his former aides, Petain and Weygand, ignored the menace of Nazism to their own country in their eagerness to ally themselves with this new and most powerful of all anti-Bolshevik movements. Mannerheim of Finland, Horthy of Hungary, Sirovy of Czechoslovakia, and all the other European puppets of the secret anti-Soviet war were converted overnight into the vanguard of Nazi aggression to the east.

In May, 1933, only a few months after Hitler took power in Germany, Alfred Rosenberg went to England to confer with Si

Henri Deterding. The Nazi "philosopher" was a guest at the oil magnate's country estate at Buckhurst Park near Windsor Castle. Already there was a powerful and growing pro-Nazi group among the British Tory advocates of the anti-Bolshevik crusade.

On November 28, 1933, Lord Rothermere's *Daily Mail* sounded the theme that was soon to dominate British foreign policy:—

The sturdy young Nazis of Germany are Europe's guardians against the Communist danger. . . . Germany must have elbow room. . . . The diversion of Germany's reserves of energies and organizing ability into Bolshevik Russia would help to restore the Russian people to a civilized existence, and perhaps turn the tide of world trade once more towards prosperity.

Under Nazi leadership, all the scattered forces of world anti-Bolshevism, anti-democracy and White Counterrevolution were to be mobilized into a single international force for the smashing of European democracy, invasion of Soviet Russia and, eventually, for attempted domination of the world.

The fifteen-year-old secret war against Soviet Russia had reared a Frankenstein in the heart of Europe, a militarized monster that threatened the peace and security of all free nations.

As Hitler's Storm Troops marched through the streets of Germany, swinging their clubs and singing, "*Today Germany is Ours, Tomorrow the Whole World!*" an English voice spoke out on a note of warning and prophetic alarm. Unexpectedly, it was the voice of Winston Churchill, the former leader of Tory anti-Bolshevism.

In December, 1933, Churchill dramatically broke with his Tory colleagues and denounced Nazism as a menace to the British Empire. In direct reply to Lord Rothermere's statement that "the sturdy young Nazis of Germany are Europe's guardians against the Communist danger," Churchill said:—

All these bands of sturdy Teutonic youths marching the streets and roads of Germany . . . are looking for weapons, and, when they have the weapons, believe me they will then ask for the return of lost territories and lost colonies, and when that demand is made it cannot fail to shake and possibly shatter to their foundations every one of the countries.

Churchill saw in Nazi Germany a direct threat to Britain's foreign markets and colonies.

Across the Atlantic another man saw that an era of world history had ended. The recently elected President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, abruptly reversed the anti-Soviet policy which his predecessor, President Herbert Hoover, had pursued. On November 16, 1933, full diplomatic relations were established between

the United States and the Soviet Union. On the same day President Roosevelt sent a letter to Maxim Litvinov which stated:—

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may co-operate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

Within a year Nazi Germany had withdrawn from the League of Nations. Its place in the collective council of the nations was taken by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The new era had begun. It was to be an era of the most fantastic and enormous treasons in history; an era of secret diplomacy carried on by terror, murder, conspiracy, *coup d'etat*, fraud and deceit unparalleled in the past.

It was to culminate in the Second World War.

BOOK THREE:

Russia's Fifth Column

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Path of Treason

1. REBEL AMONG REVOLUTIONARIES

FROM the moment Hitler took power in Germany, the international counterrevolution became an integral part of the Nazi plan of world conquest. In every country, Hitler mobilized the counterrevolutionary forces which for the past fifteen years had been organizing throughout the world. These forces were now converted into the Fifth Columns of Nazi Germany, organizations of treason, espionage and terror. These Fifth Columns were the secret vanguards of the German Wehrmacht.

One of the most powerful and important of these Fifth Columns operated in Soviet Russia. It was headed by a man who was perhaps the most remarkable political renegade in all history.

The name of this man was Leon Trotsky.

When the Third Reich came into being, Leon Trotsky was already the leader of an international anti-Soviet conspiracy with powerful forces inside the Soviet Union. Trotsky in exile was plotting the overthrow of the Soviet Government, his own return to Russia and the assumption of that personal power he had once so nearly held.

"There was a time," Winston Churchill wrote in *Great Contemporaries*, "when Trotsky stood very close to the vacant throne of the Romanovs."

In 1919-1920, the world press dubbed Trotsky the "Red Napoleon". Trotsky was War Commissar. Dressed in a long smart military topcoat, with shining high boots, an automatic pistol on his hip, Trotsky toured the battlefronts delivering fiery orations to the Red Army soldiers. He converted an armored train into his private headquarters and surrounded himself with a specially uniformed, personal armed bodyguard. He had his own faction in the Army Command, in the Bolshevik Party and in the Soviet Government. Trotsky's train, Trotsky's guard, Trotsky's speeches, Trotsky's features—his shock of black hair, his little black pointed beard and his darting eyes behind his glittering pince-nez—were world-famous. In Europe and in the United States, the victories of the Red Army were credited to "Trotsky's leadership."

After his dramatic deportation from Soviet Russia in 1929, a myth was woven by anti-Soviet elements throughout the world around the name and personality of Leon Trotsky. According to this myth, Trotsky was "the outstanding Bolshevik leader of the Russian Revolution" and "Lenin's inspirer, closest co-worker and logical successor."

But in February, 1917, one month before the collapse of Czarism, Lenin himself wrote:—

The name Trotsky signifies: Left phraseology and a bloc with the right against the aim of the left.

Lenin called Trotsky the "Judas" of the Russian Revolution.*

Traitors are made, not born. Like Benito Mussolini, Pierre Laval, Paul Joseph Goebbels, Jacques Doriot, Wang Ching-wei and other notorious adventurers of modern times, Leon Trotsky had begun his career as a dissident, extreme leftist element within the revolutionary movement of his native land. . . .

The collapse of the Czar's regime in March, 1917 found Trotsky in New York City, editing a Russian radical newspaper, *Novy Mir* (New World), in collaboration with his friend and Lenin's opponent, Nicolai Bukharin, an ultra-leftist Russian *émigré* politician whom one observer described as "a blond Machiavelli in a leather jacket."** Trotsky hastily booked passage for Russia. His trip was interrupted when the Canadian authorities arrested him at Halifax. After being held in custody for a month, he was released at the request of the Russian Provisional Government and sailed for Petrograd.

*Here are some typical comments periodically made by Lenin concerning Trotsky and his activities within the Russian Revolutionary movement:—

1911. "In 1903, Trotsky was a Menshevik; he left the Mensheviks in 1904; returned to the Mensheviks in 1905, parading around with ultra-revolutionary phrases the while and again turned his back on the Mensheviks in 1906. . . . Trotsky plagiarizes today from the ideas of one faction, tomorrow those of the other, and thus he regards himself as superior to both factions . . . I must declare that Trotsky represents his own faction only."

1911. "Such people as Trotsky with his puffed up phrases . . . are now the disease of the age. . . . Everyone who supports Trotsky's group supports the policy of lies and deception of the workers . . . it is not possible to discuss essentials with Trotsky, for he has no views . . . we merely expose him as a diplomatist of the meanest description."

1912. "This bloc is composed of lack of principle, hypocrisy and empty phrases. . . . Trotsky covers them by the revolutionary phrase, which costs him nothing and binds him to nothing."

1914. "Comrade Trotsky has never yet possessed a definite opinion on any single, earnest Marxian question; he has always crept into the breach made by this or that difference, and has oscillated from one side to another."

**Trotsky had arrived in the United States only two months before the downfall of the Czar, after being expelled from France in the late fall of 1916. Since the failure of the 1905 Revolution, Trotsky had lived abroad. Bukharin had preceded him to the United States from Austria.

The British Government had decided to let Trotsky return to Russia. According to the memoirs of the British agent Bruce Lockhart, the British Intelligence Service believed it might be able to make use of the "dissensions between Trotsky and Lenin." . . .

Trotsky reached Petrograd in May. At first he tried to create a revolutionary party of his own—a bloc composed of former *émigrés* and extreme leftist elements from different radical parties. But it was soon clear that there was no future for Trotsky's movement. The Bolshevik Party had the support of the revolutionary masses.

In August, 1917, Trotsky made a sensational political somersault. After fourteen years of opposition to Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Trotsky applied for membership in the Bolshevik Party.

Lenin had repeatedly warned against Trotsky and his personal ambitions; but now, in the crucial struggle to establish a Soviet Government, Lenin's policy called for a united front of all revolutionary factions, groups and parties. Trotsky was the spokesman for a sizeable group. Outside of Russia his name was better known than that of any other Russian revolutionary except Lenin. Moreover, Trotsky's unique talents as an orator, agitator and organizer could be used to great advantage by the Bolsheviks. Trotsky's application for membership in the Bolshevik Party was accepted.

Characteristically, Trotsky made a spectacular entry into the Bolshevik Party. He brought with him into the Party his entire motley following of dissident leftists. As Lenin humorously put it, it was like coming to terms with a "major power".

When the first Soviet Government was formed as a coalition of Bolsheviks, left Social Revolutionaries and former Mensheviks, Trotsky became Foreign Commissar. His intimate knowledge of foreign languages and wide acquaintance with foreign countries fitted him for the post.

2. THE LEFT OPPOSITION

First as Foreign Commissar and then as War Commissar, Trotsky was the chief spokesman of the so-called Left Opposition within the Bolshevik Party. Although few in number, the oppositionists were talented speakers and organizers. They had wide connections abroad, and among the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in Russia. In the early days after the Revolution they secured important posts in the army, diplomatic corps and executive state institutions.

Trotsky shared the leadership of the Opposition with two other dissident radicals: Nicolai Bukharin, the slim, blond, self-styled "Marxist ideologist," who headed a group of so-called "Left Communists;" and Grigori Zinoviev, the burly, eloquent leftist agitator, who, together with Trotsky's brother-in-law, Leo Kamenev, led his own sect, called "Zinovievites." Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev frequently quarreled among themselves on questions of tactics.

and because of personal rivalries and conflicting political ambitions but at crucial moments they joined forces in repeated attempts to gain control of the Soviet Government.

Trotsky's own followers included: Yuri Pyatakov, radical son of a rich Ukrainian family, who had fallen under Trotsky's influence in Europe; Karl Radek, the brilliant Polish "leftist" journalist and agitator who had become associated with Trotsky in opposition to Lenin in Switzerland; Nicolai Krestinsky, a former lawyer and ambitious Bolshevik Duma representative; and Grigori Sokolnikov, a youthful cosmopolitan radical who entered the Soviet Foreign Office under Trotsky's auspices.

In addition, as War Commissar, Trotsky surrounded himself with a clique of tough, violent army men who formed a special "Trotsky Guard" fanatically devoted to their "leader". A prominent member of Trotsky's military faction was Nicolai Muralov, the six-foot daredevil commander of the Moscow Military Garrison. Trotsky's personal bodyguard included Ivan Smirnov, Sergei Mrachkovsky and Ephraim Dreitzer. The former Social Revolutionary terrorist, Blumkin, the assassin of Count Mirbach, became chief of Trotsky's personal bodyguard.

Trotsky also allied himself with a number of former Czarist officers whom he befriended and, despite frequent warnings from the Bolshevik Party, placed in important military posts. One ex-Czarist officer with whom Trotsky became intimately associated in 1920, during the Polish campaign, was Mikhail Nicolayevich Tukhachevsky, a military leader with Napoleonic ambitions of his own.

The aim of the combined Left Opposition was to supplant Lenin and take power in Soviet Russia.

Outside Soviet Russia, Trotsky's international friends and supporters in Socialist and left Communist circles believed that Lenin's regime was doomed. Many other observers also believed Trotsky and the Left Opposition were on the verge of power. The American foreign correspondent, Isaac F. Marcosson, reported that Trotsky had "the young Communists, most of the officers, and the rank and file of the Red Army behind him." But the outside world, like Trotsky himself, overestimated his strength and popularity.

In an effort to rally a mass following, Trotsky toured the country, making dramatic appearances at public rallies, delivering impassioned speeches, accusing the "Old Bolsheviks" of having "degenerated", and calling on the "youth" to support his movement. But the Russian soldiers, workers and peasants, fresh from the victorious struggle against the would-be White Napoleons, were in no mood to tolerate a "Red Napoleon" arising within their own ranks. As Sir Bernard Pares wrote in his *History of Russia*, concerning Trotsky at this period:—

An acute critic who saw him at close quarters has truly said that Trotsky by his nature and by his methods belonged to

pre-revolutionary times. Demagogues were getting out of date. . . .

At the Tenth Bolshevik Party Congress, in March, 1921, the Central Committee headed by Lenin passed a resolution outlawing all "factions" in the Party as a menace to the unity of the revolutionary leadership. From now on all party leaders would have to submit to the majority decisions and the majority rule, on penalty of expulsion from the Party. The Central Committee specifically warned "Comrade Trotsky" against his "factional activities", and stated that "enemies of the State," taking advantage of the confusion caused by his disruptive activities, were penetrating the Party and calling themselves "Trotskyites." A number of important Trotskyites and other Left Oppositionists were demoted.

The following year, in March, 1922, Josef Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Party and made responsible for the carrying out of Lenin's plans.

Following the blunt Party warning, and the demotion of his followers, Trotsky's mass following began to melt away. His prestige was on the wane. Stalin's election was a crushing blow to Trotsky's faction in the Party apparatus.

Power was slipping from Trotsky's hands.

3. THE PATH TO TREASON

From the beginning, the Left Opposition had functioned in two ways. Openly, on public platforms, in its own newspapers and lecture halls, the oppositionists brought their propaganda to the people. Behind the scenes, small clandestine factional conferences of Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Radek, Pyatakov and others mapped out the over-all strategy and planned the tactics of the Opposition.

With this opposition movement as a base, Trotsky built a secret conspiratorial organization in Russia based on the "fives system" which Reilly had developed and which the Social Revolutionaries and other anti-Soviet conspirators had used.

By 1923, Trotsky's underground apparatus was already a potent and far-reaching organization. Special codes, ciphers and password were devised by Trotsky and his adherents for purposes of illegal communication. Secret printing presses were set up throughout the country. Trotskyite cells were established in the army, the diplomatic corps, and in the Soviet state and party institutions.

Years later, Trotsky revealed that his own son, Leon Sedov, was involved at this time in the Trotskyite conspiracy which was already ceasing to be a mere political opposition within the Bolshevik Party and was on the point of merging with the secret war against the Soviet regime.

"In 1923," wrote Trotsky in 1938 in the pamphlet *Leon Sedov Son-Friend-Fighter*, "Leon threw himself headlong into the work of the Opposition. . . . Thus, at seventeen, he began the life of a full conscious revolutionist. He quickly grasped the art of conspiratorial

work, illegal meetings, and the secret issuing and distribution of Opposition documents. The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) rapidly developed its own cadres of Opposition leaders."

But Trotsky had gone further than conspiratorial work inside Soviet Russia. . . .

In the winter of 1921-1922, the swarthy, furtive-eyed former lawyer and leading Trotskyite, Nicolai Krestinsky, had become the Soviet Ambassador to Germany. In the course of his duties in Berlin, Krestinsky visited General Hans von Seeckt, commander of the Reichswehr. Seeckt knew from his Intelligence reports that Krestinsky was a Trotskyite. The German general gave Krestinsky to understand that the Reichswehr was sympathetic with the aims of the Russian Opposition led by War Commissar Trotsky.

In Moscow, a few months later, Krestinsky reported to Trotsky what General Seeckt had said. Trotsky was desperately in need of funds to finance his growing underground organisation. He told Krestinsky that the Opposition in Russia needed foreign allies and must be prepared to form alliances with friendly powers. Germany, Trotsky added, was not an enemy of Russia, and there was no likelihood of an early clash between them; the Germans were looking westward and burning with a desire to revenge themselves on France and England. Opposition politicians in Soviet Russia must be prepared to capitalize on this situation. . . .

When Krestinsky returned to Berlin in 1922, he had Trotsky's instructions to "take advantage of a meeting with Seeckt during official negotiations to propose to him, to Seeckt, that he grant Trotsky a regular subsidy for the development of illegal Trotskyite activities."

Here, in Krestinsky's own words, is what happened:—

I put the question before Seeckt and named the sum of 250,000 gold marks. General Seeckt, after consulting his assistant, the chief of staff (Haase) agreed in principle and put up the counter demand that certain confidential and important information of a military nature should be transmitted to him, even if not regularly, by Trotsky in Moscow or through me. In addition, he was to receive assistance in obtaining visas for some persons whom they would send to the Soviet Union as spies. This counter-demand of General Seeckt was accepted and in 1923 this agreement was put into effect.*

*Quotations and dialogue throughout Book III, unless otherwise stated in the text, referring to the secret activities of the Trotskyites in Russia, are drawn from the testimony at the trials which took place before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow in August, 1937, January, 1937, and March, 1938. Dialogue and incidents directly involving Trotsky and his son Sedov, unless otherwise so indicated in the text, are taken from the testimony of the defendants at these trials.

4. THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

On January 21, 1924, the creator and leader of the Bolshevik Party, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, died.

Immediately after Lenin's death, Trotsky made his open bid for power. At the Party Congress in May, 1924, Trotsky demanded that he, and not Stalin, be recognized as Lenin's successor. Against the advice of his own allies, he forced the question to a vote. The 748 Bolshevik delegates at the Congress voted unanimously to maintain Stalin as General Secretary, and in condemnation of Trotsky's struggle for personal power.

Trotsky's opposition movement intensified its conspiratorial activities. It rallied every kind of malcontent and subversive element in a nation-wide propaganda and political struggle against the Soviet Government. As Trotsky himself later wrote: "In the wake of this vanguard, there dragged the tail end of all sorts of dissatisfied, ill-equipped and chagrined careerists." Spies, saboteurs, White counterrevolutionaries, terrorists, flocked into the secret cells of the New Opposition. The cells began to store arms. An actual secret Trotskyite army was in process of formation on Soviet soil.

"We must aim far ahead," Trotsky told Zinoviev and Kamenev, as he records in *My Life*. "We must prepare for a long and serious struggle."

From outside Russia, Captain Sidney George Reilly of the British Intelligence Service decided it was the moment to strike. The would-be Russian dictator and British puppet, Boris Savinkov, was sent back into Russia that summer to prepare the expected counter-revolutionary uprising. According to Winston Churchill, who himself played a part in this conspiracy, Savinkov was in secret communication with Trotsky. In *Great Contemporaries*, Churchill wrote: "In June, 1924, Kamenev and Trotsky definitely invited him [Savinkov] to return."

Following Savinkov's arrest and Reilly's death, Trotsky launched an all-out campaign against the Soviet leadership. "During 1926," writes Trotsky in *My Life*, "the party struggle developed with increasing intensity. In the autumn the Opposition even made an open sortie at the meetings of the party locals." These tactics failed and aroused widespread resentment among the workers who angrily denounced the Trotskyite disruptive activities. "The Opposition," wrote Trotsky, "was obliged to beat a retreat. . . ."

With the threat of war hanging over Russia in the summer of 1927, Trotsky renewed his attacks on the Soviet Government. In *My Life*, Trotsky describes the hectic conspiratorial activity of his movement at the time: "Secret meetings were held in various parts of Moscow and Leningrad attended by workers and students of both sexes, who gathered in groups of from twenty to one hundred and two hundred to hear some representative of the Opposition. In one day I would visit two, three and sometimes four of such meetings."

Trotsky was feverishly preparing for the coming showdown. By the end of October his plans were made. An uprising was to take place on November 7, 1927, the Tenth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Trotsky's most resolute followers, former members of the Red Army Guard, were to head the insurrection. Detachments were posted to take over strategic points throughout the country. The signal for the rising was to be a political demonstration against the Soviet Government during the mass workers' parade in Moscow on the morning of November 7.

Trotsky's insurrection collapsed almost as soon as it started. On the morning of November 7, as the workers marched through the Moscow streets, Trotskyite propaganda leaflets were showered down on them from high buildings announcing the advent of the "new leadership." Small bands of Trotskyites suddenly appeared in the streets, waving banners and placards. They were swept away by the irate workers.

The Soviet authorities acted swiftly. Government agents raided secret Trotskyite printing presses and arms dumps. Zinoviev and Budek were arrested in Leningrad, where they had gone to organize a simultaneous *Putsch*. One of Trotsky's followers, the diplomat Joffe who had been Ambassador to Japan, committed suicide. In some places Trotskyites were arrested in the company of former White officers, Social Revolutionary terrorists, and foreign agents. . . .

Trotsky was expelled from the Bolshevik Party and sent into exile to Alma Ata, capital of the Kazakh Soviet Republic in Siberia, near the border of China. He was given a house for himself, his wife Natalie and his son, Sedov. Trotsky was treated leniently by the Soviet Government, which was as yet unaware of the real scope and significance of his conspiracy. He was permitted to retain some of his personal bodyguards, including the former Red Army officer Ephraim Dreitzer. He was allowed to receive and send personal mail, to have his own library and confidential "archives" and to be visited from time to time by friends and admirers.

But Trotsky's exile by no means put an end to his conspiratorial activities. . . .

Trotsky's house in Alma Ata was the center of intense anti-Soviet intrigue. "The ideological life of the opposition seethed like a cauldron at the time," Trotsky later wrote in the pamphlet *Leon Sedov: Son-Friend-Fighter*. From Alma Ata, Trotsky directed a clandestine nationwide propaganda and subversive campaign against the Soviet regime.

In December, 1928, a representative of the Soviet Government was sent to visit Trotsky at Alma Ata. He told Trotsky, according to *My Life*: "The work of your political sympathizers throughout the country has lately assumed a definitely counterrevolutionary character; the conditions in which you are placed at Alma Ata give you full opportunity to direct this work. . . ." The Soviet Government

wanted a promise from Trotsky to discontinue his seditious activity. Failing this, the Government would be forced to take strong action against him as a traitor. Trotsky refused to heed the warning. His case was taken up in Moscow by the special collegium of the OGPU.

On the morning of January 22, 1929, Trotsky was formally deported from the Soviet Union.

It was the beginning of the most extraordinary phase of Leon Trotsky's career.

"Exile usually means eclipse. The reverse has happened in the case of Trotsky," Isaac F. Marcosson was later to write in *Turbulent Years*, "A human hornet while he was within Soviet confines, his sting is scarcely less effective thousands of miles away. Exercising remote control he had become Russia's Public Enemy Number One. Napoleon had one St. Helena which ended his career as a European troublemaker. Trotsky has had five St. Helenas. Each has been a nest of intrigue. Master of propaganda, he has lived in a fantastic atmosphere of national and international conspiracy like a character in an E. Phillips Oppenheim mystery story."

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Genesis of a Fifth Column

1. TROTSKY AT ELBA

ON February 13, 1929, Leon Trotsky arrived at Constantinople. He did not arrive like a discredited political exile. Trotsky came like a visiting potentate. Headlines in the world press reported his arrival. Foreign correspondents waited to greet the private motor launch which brought him to the quay. Brushing them aside, Trotsky strode to a waiting automobile chauffeured by one of his personal bodyguards and was whisked away.

At Prinkipo, the picturesque Black Sea island where Woodrow Wilson dreamed of holding an Allied-Soviet peace conference, the exiled Trotsky established his new political headquarters with his son, Leon Sedov, as his chief aide and second-in-command. A strange, hectic atmosphere of mystery and intrigue surrounded the small house in which Trotsky lived. The house was guarded outside by police dogs and armed bodyguards. Inside, the house swarmed with radical adventurers from Russia, Germany, Spain and other countries, who had joined Trotsky at Prinkipo.

At first, the head of Trotsky's armed bodyguard at Prinkipo was Blumkin, the Social Revolutionary assassin who had followed Trotsky with doglike devotion since the early nineteen-twenties. Late in 1930, Trotsky sent him back to Soviet Russia on a special mission. Blumkin was caught by the Soviet police, put on trial, found guilty of smuggling arms and anti-Soviet propaganda into the U.S.S.R., and shot. Later, Trotsky's bodyguard was headed by a Frenchman,

Raymond Molinier, and by an American, Sheldon Harte.

With elaborate care, Trotsky sought to maintain his reputation as a "great revolutionary" in temporary exile. He was in his fiftieth year. His stocky, slightly humped figure was growing plump and flabby. His famous shock of black hair and little, pointed beard were gray. But his movements were still rapid and impatient. His dark eyes behind the inveterate pince-nez which glittered on his sharp nose gave his sombre, mobile features an expression of peculiar malevolence. Many observers were repelled by his "Mephistophelian" physiognomy. Others found in Trotsky's voice and eyes an almost hypnotic fascination.

In maintaining his reputation outside of Soviet Russia, Trotsky left nothing to chance. He was fond of quoting the words of the French Anarchist, Proudhon: "Destiny—I laugh at it; and as for men, they are too ignorant, too enslaved for me to feel annoyed at them." But before he granted interviews to important visitors, Trotsky carefully rehearsed his role, and even studied appropriate gestures before a mirror in his bedroom.

The liberal German writer, Emil Ludwig, interviewed Trotsky soon after he settled at Prinkipo. Trotsky was in an optimistic mood. Crisis was facing Russia, he told Ludwig; the Five-Year Plan was a failure; there would be unemployment, economic and industrial disaster; the collectivization program in agriculture was doomed; Stalin was leading the country to a catastrophe; the Opposition was growing. . . .

"How large is your following inside Russia?" asked Ludwig.

Trotsky was suddenly cautious. He waved a plump, white, manicured hand. "It is difficult to estimate." His following was "scattered," he told Ludwig, working illegally, "underground."

"When do you expect to come out into the open again?"

To this, after some consideration, Trotsky replied: "When an opportunity is presented from the outside. Perhaps a war or a new European intervention—when the weakness of the government would act as a stimulus!"

Also, about this time, the American foreign correspondent John Gunther visited Trotsky's Prinkipo headquarters. He spoke with Trotsky and a number of Trotsky's Russian and European associates. To Gunther's surprise, Trotsky did not behave like a defeated exile. He behaved more like a ruling monarch or dictator. Gunther thought of Napoleon at Elba—just before the dramatic return and the Hundred Days. Gunther reported:—

A Trotsky movement has grown up throughout most of Europe. In each country there is a nucleus of Trotskyite agitators. They take orders from Prinkipo direct. There is a sort of communication between the various groups, through their publications and manifestos but mostly through private letters.

The various control committees are linked to an international headquarters in Berlin.

Gunther tried to get Trotsky to talk about his Fourth International, just what it stood for and what it did. Trotsky was reserved on the subject. In one expansive moment, he showed Gunther a number of "hollow books" in which secret documents were concealed and transported. He praised the activities of Andreas Nin in Spain. He also had followers and influential sympathizers in the United States. He spoke of Trotskyite cells being formed in France, Norway and Czechoslovakia. Their activities, he told Gunther, were "semi-secret." . . .

Gunther wrote that Trotsky had "lost Russia, or at least for a while. No man knows whether he may not regain it in ten or twenty years." Trotsky's chief aim was "to hold out, hope for Stalin's downfall in Russia, and meantime bend every bit of energy to unceasing perfection of his counter-Communist organization abroad."

Only "one thing," Gunther concluded, could put Trotsky "back at once in Russia."

That one thing was "Stalin's death."

2. RENDEZVOUS IN BERLIN

Up to 1930, Trotsky's agent, Krestinsky, had received approximately 2,000,000 gold marks from the German Reichswehr for financing Trotskyite activities in Soviet Russia, in exchange for espionage data turned over to the German Military Intelligence by the Trotskyites. In 1930 Krestinsky was appointed Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs and transferred from Berlin to Moscow. His removal from Germany, together with the inner crisis which was then going on within the Reichswehr as a result of the rising power of Nazism, again temporarily halted the flow of German money to Trotsky. But already Trotsky was about to enter into a new extended agreement with the German Military Intelligence. . . .

In February, 1931, Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, rented an apartment in Berlin. According to his passport, Sedov was in Germany as a "student;" ostensibly, he had come to Berlin to attend a "German scientific institute." But there were more urgent reasons for Sedov's presence in the German capital that year.

Sedov was in Berlin, as his father's representative, on conspiratorial assignments.

"Leon was always on the lookout," Trotsky later wrote in his pamphlet *Leon Sedov: Son-Friend-Fighter*, "avidly searching for connecting threads with Russia, hunting up returning tourists, Soviet students assigned abroad, or sympathetic functionaries in the foreign representations." Sedov's chief assignment in Berlin was to contact old members of the Opposition, communicate Trotsky's instructions

to them, or collect important messages from them for his father. "To avoid compromising his informant" and to "evade the GPU spies," wrote Trotsky, Sedov "chased for hours through the streets of Berlin."

A number of important Trotskyites had managed to secure posts on the Soviet Foreign Trade Commission. Among them were Ivan N. Smirnov, the one-time Red Army officer and former leading member of Trotsky's Guard, and Yuri Pyatakov, head of an important Soviet Trade Mission in Berlin, and Trotsky's old follower and most devoted admirer. Sedov contacted them.

Here is Pyatakov's own account of his meeting with Sedov:

There is a cafe known as the "Am Zoo" not far from the Zoological Gardens on the square. I went there and saw Lev Sedov sitting at a small table. We had known each other very well in the past. He told me that he was not speaking to me in his own name, but in the name of his father—Trotsky, and that Trotsky, learning that I was in Berlin, gave him categorical orders to look me up, to meet me personally and have a talk with me. Sedov said that Trotsky had not for a moment abandoned the idea of resuming the fight against Stalin's leadership, that there had been a temporary lull owing partly to Trotsky's repeated movements from one country to another, but that this struggle was now being resumed, of which he, Trotsky, was hereby informing me. . . . After this, Sedov asked me point-blank: "Trotsky asks, do you, Pyatakov, intend to take a hand in this fight?" I gave my consent.

Sedov then proceeded to inform Pyatakov of the lines along which Trotsky was proposing to reorganize the Opposition:—

. . . Sedov went on to outline the nature of the new methods of struggle: there could be no question of developing a mass struggle of any form, of organizing a mass movement; if we adopted any kind of mass work we would come to grief immediately; Trotsky was firmly in favor of the forcible overthrow of the Stalin leadership by methods of terrorism and wrecking.

A second meeting between Sedov and Pyatakov soon followed. This time Sedov said to him: "You realize, Yuri Leonodovich, that inasmuch as the fight has been resumed, money is needed. You can provide the necessary funds for the fight." Sedov informed Pyatakov how this could be done. In his official capacity as trade representative of the Soviet Government in Germany, Pyatakov was to place as many orders as possible with the two German firms, Borsig and Demag. Pyatakov was not to be "particularly exacting as to prices" in dealing with these concerns. Trotsky had an arrangement with Borsig and Demag. "You will have to pay higher prices," said Sedov, "but this money will go for our work."

Pyatakov returned to Moscow. Shortly afterwards, a secret

emissary brought him a letter from Trotsky outlining the immediate tasks confronting the Opposition in Soviet Russia.

The first task was "to use every possible means to overthrow Stalin and his associates." This meant terrorism.

The second task was "to unite all anti-Stalin forces." This meant collaboration with the German Military Intelligence and any other anti-Soviet force that would work with the Opposition.

The third task was "to counteract all measures of the Soviet Government and the Party, particularly in the economic field." This meant sabotage.

Pyatakov was to be Trotsky's chief lieutenant in charge of the conspiratorial apparatus inside Soviet Russia.

3. THE THREE LAYERS

Throughout 1932, Russia's future Fifth Column began to take concrete shape in the underworld of the Opposition. At small secret meetings and furtive conferences, the members of the conspiracy were made aware of the new line and instructed in their new tasks. A network of terrorist and sabotage cells and courier systems was developed in Soviet Russia.

Trotsky's emphatic demand for the preparation of acts of terror at first alarmed some of the older Trotskyite intellectuals. The journalist Karl Radek showed signs of panic when Pyatakov acquainted him with the new line. In February, 1932, Radek received a personal letter from Trotsky conveyed, as were all Trotskyite communications of a confidential character, by secret courier.

"You must bear in mind," Trotsky wrote his wavering follower, Radek, "the experience of the preceding period and realize that for you there can be no returning to the past, that the struggle has entered a new phase and that the new feature in this phase is that either we shall be destroyed together with the Soviet Union, or we must raise the question of removing the leadership."

Trotsky's letter, together with Pyatakov's insistence, finally convinced Radek. He agreed to accept the new line—terrorism, sabotage and collaboration with "foreign powers."

Among the most active organizers of the terrorist cells which were now built throughout the Soviet Union were Ivan Smirnov and his old comrades in the Trotsky Guard: Serge Mrachkovsky and Ephraim Dreitzer.

Under Smirnov's direction, Mrachkovsky and Dreitzer began forming small groups of professional gunmen and former Trotskyite associates from civil-war days who were ready for violent methods.

"The hopes we've placed on the collapse of the Party's policy," Mrachkovsky told one of these terrorist groups in Moscow in 1932, "must be considered doomed. The methods of struggle used until now haven't produced any positive results. There remains only one path of struggle, and that is the removal of the leadership of the

Party by violence. Stalin and the other leaders must be removed. That is the principal task!"

Meanwhile, Pyatakov was engaged in seeking out conspirators for key industrial jobs, especially in the war industries and transport, and recruiting them for the all-out sabotage campaign that Trotsky wanted to launch against the Soviet economy.

By the summer of 1932, an agreement to suspend past rivalries and differences, and to work together under Trotsky's supreme command, was under discussion between Pyatakov, as Trotsky's lieutenant in Russia, and Bukharin, the leader of the Right Opposition. The smaller group headed by the veteran oppositionist Zinoviev and Kamenev, agreed to subordinate its activities to Trotsky's authority.

The final negotiations were concluded that fall at a secret meeting which was held in a deserted *dacha*, summer house, on the outskirts of Moscow. Sentries were posted by the conspirators around the house and along all roads leading to it to guard against surprise attacks and to ensure absolute secrecy. At this meeting something like a High Command of the combined Opposition forces was formed to direct the coming campaigns of terror and sabotage throughout the Soviet Union. This High Command of the Opposition was named the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." It was constructed on three different levels or layers. If one of the layers was exposed, the others would carry on.

The first layer, the *Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center*, headed by Zinoviev, was responsible for the organization and direction of terrorism.

The second layer, the *Trotskyite Parallel Center*, headed by Pyatakov, was responsible for the organization and direction of sabotage.

The third and most important layer, the actual *Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, headed by Bukharin and Krestinsky, comprised most of the leaders and highest-ranking members of the combined Opposition forces.

The entire apparatus consisted of not more than a few thousand members and some twenty or thirty leaders who held positions of authority in the army, Foreign Office, secret service, industry, trade unions, Party and Government offices.

From the start, the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites was penetrated and led by paid agents of foreign Intelligence Service, especially of the German Military Intelligence. These are some of the foreign agents who were leading members of the new conspiratorial bloc:—

Nicolai Krestinsky, Trotskyite and Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was an agent of the German Military Intelligence since 1923, when he first undertook espionage assignments from General Hans von Seeckt.

Arkady Rosengoltz, Trotskyite and People's Commissar of

Foreign Trade, had been carrying out espionage assignments for the German High Command since 1923. "My espionage activities began as far back as 1923," Rosengoltz himself later related, "when, on Trotsky's instructions, I handed various secret information to the Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr, Seeckt, and to the Chief of the German General Staff, Hasse." In 1926 Rosengoltz began working for the British Intelligence Service, while maintaining his connections with Germany.

Christian Rakovsky, Trotskyite and former Ambassador to Great Britain and France, agent of the British Intelligence Service since 1924. In Rakovsky's own words: "I established criminal connections with the British Intelligence Service in 1924." In 1934, Rakovsky also became an agent of the Japanese Intelligence Service.

Yakov Livshitz, Trotskyite and official on the Soviet Far Eastern Railroad Commission, was an agent of the Japanese Military Intelligence and regularly transmitted to Japan secret information concerning the Soviet railroads.

Ivan Knyasev, Trotskyite, and executive on the Urals railroad system; agent of the Japanese Intelligence Service. Under its supervision, he carried on sabotage activities in the Urals, and kept the Japanese High Command supplied with information about the Soviet transport system.

Yosif Turok, Trotskyite, and Assistant Manager of the Traffic Department on the Perm and Urals Railway; agent of the Japanese Intelligence Service. In 1935 Turok received 35,000 roubles from the Japanese in payment for the espionage and sabotage assignments he was carrying out in the Urals.

Mikhail Chernov, a member of the Rights and People's Commissar of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.; agent of the German Military Intelligence since 1928. Under the supervision of the Germans, Chernov carried out extensive sabotage, as well as espionage assignments, in the Ukraine.

The conspiratorial apparatus of the Trotskyites, Rights and Zinovievites was, in fact, the Axis Fifth Column in Soviet Russia.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Treason and Terror

1. THE DIPLOMACY OF TREASON

IN the years 1933-1934, a mysterious malaise seemed to seize the nations of Europe. One country after another was suddenly shaken by *coups d'état*, military *Putches*, sabotage, assassinations and startling revelations of cabals and conspiracies. Scarcely a month passed

without some new act of treachery and violence. An epidemic of treason and terror raced across Europe.

Nazi Germany was the center of infection. On January 11, 1934, a United Press dispatch reported from London: "With Nazi Germany as the center of the new Fascist movements, agitation and violence by those who believe the old form of government is doomed have spread over the continent."

The term "Fifth Column" was as yet unknown. But already the secret vanguards of the German High Command had launched their offensive against the nations of Europe. The French *Cagoulauds* and *Croix de Feu*; the British *Union of Fascists*; the Belgian *Rexists*; the Polish *POW*; the Czechoslovakian *Henleinists* and *Hlinka Guards*; the Norwegian *Quislingites*; the Rumanian *Iron Guards*; the Bulgarian *IMRO*; the Finnish *Lappo*; the Lithuanian *Iron Wolf*; the Latvian *Fiery Cross*, and many other newly created Nazi secret societies or reorganized counterrevolutionary leagues were already at work paving the way for the German Wehrmacht's conquest and enslavement of the Continent and preparing for the attack on the Soviet Union.

Two men were chiefly responsible for the organization and supervision of these Nazi Fifth Column activities which soon extended far beyond Europe, penetrating the United States, Latin America, Africa, and, linking up with the Japanese Intelligence Service, all the area of the Far East. These two men were Alfred Rosenberg and Rudolph Hess. Rosenberg headed the *Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP* (Foreign Political Office of the Nazi Party) which had the task of directing thousands of Nazi espionage, sabotage and propaganda agencies throughout the world, with special points of concentration in Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia. As Hitler's deputy, Rudolph Hess was in charge of all secret foreign negotiations for the Nazi Government.

It was Alfred Rosenberg, the one-time Czarist *émigré* from Reval, who first established secret official Nazi relations with Leon Trotsky. It was Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy, who cemented them. . . .

In September, 1933, eight months after Adolph Hitler became dictator of Germany, the Trotskyite diplomat and German agent Nicolai Krestinsky stopped off in Berlin for a few days on his way to take his annual "rest cure" at a sanatorium in Kissengen. Krestinsky then held the post of Assistant Commissar in the Soviet Foreign Office.

In Berlin, Krestinsky saw Sergei Bessonov, the Trotskyite liaison agent at the Soviet Embassy. In great excitement, Krestinsky informed Bessonov that "Alfred Rosenberg, the leader of the Foreign Affairs Department of the National Socialist Party of Germany," had been "making soundings in our circles on the question of a possible secret alliance between the National Socialists in Germany and the Russian Trotskyites."

Krestinsky told Bessonov that he must see Trotsky. A meeting must be arranged at all costs. Krestinsky would be in the Kissen-

gen sanatorium until the end of September, then he would go to Merano in the Italian Tyrol. Trotsky could contact him, with due precautions, in either place.

The meeting was arranged. In the second week of October, 1933, Leon Trotsky, accompanied by his son, Sedov, crossed the Franco-Italian border on a false passport and met Krestinsky at the Hotel Bavaria in Merano.

The conference which followed covered almost all the major issues concerning the future development of the conspiracy inside Soviet Russia. Trotsky began by stating flatly that "the seizure of power in Russia could be consummated only by force." But the conspiratorial apparatus alone was not strong enough to carry out a successful coup and to maintain itself in power without outside aid. It was therefore essential to come to a concrete agreement with foreign states interested in aiding the Trotskyites against the Soviet Government for their own ends.

"The embryo of such an agreement," Trotsky told Krestinsky, "was our agreement with the Reichswehr; but this agreement in no way satisfied either the Trotskyites or the German side for two reasons: first, the other party to this agreement was only the Reichswehr and not the German Government as a whole. . . . Second, what was the substance of our agreement with the Reichswehr? We were receiving a small sum of money and they were receiving espionage information which they would need during an armed attack. But the German Government, Hitler particularly, wants colonies, territory, and not only espionage information. And he is prepared to be satisfied with Soviet territory instead of the colonies for which he would have to fight England, America and France. As for us, we do not need the 250,000 gold marks. We need the German armed forces in order to come to power with their assistance. And it is toward this end that the work should be carried on."

The first thing, said Trotsky, was to reach an agreement with the German Government. "But the Japanese are also a force with which it is necessary to come to terms," Trotsky added. It would be necessary for the Russian Trotskyites to initiate "soundings" with the Japanese representatives in Moscow. "In this connection," Trotsky instructed Krestinsky, "use Sokonikov, who is working in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, in charge of Eastern Affairs. . . ."

Trotsky went on to give Krestinsky instructions about the inner organization of the Russian conspiratorial apparatus.

"Even if the Soviet Union is attacked, let us say, by Germany," said Trotsky, "that does not as yet make it possible to seize the machinery of power unless certain internal forces have been prepared . . . it is necessary to have a stronghold, an organization in the Red Army among the commanders, in order, with our united effort, to seize the most vital places at the necessary moment and

to come to power, to replace the present Government, which must be arrested, by a Government of our own which has been prepared beforehand."

On his return to Russia, Krestinsky was to get in touch with General Tukhachevsky, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Red Army—"a man," as Trotsky told Krestinsky, "of a Bonapartist type, an adventurer, and ambitious man, who strives not only for a military but also for a military-political role, and who will unquestionably make common cause with us."

Trotsky's followers in Russia were to give every assistance to General Tukhachevsky, while at the same time taking care to place their own men in strategic positions, so that, when the *coup d'etat* came the ambitious Tukhachevsky would not be able to control the new government without the aid of Trotsky.

Back in Moscow, Krestinsky delivered a full report on his meeting with Trotsky before a secret meeting of the Russian Trotskyites. A few of the conspirators, particularly Karl Radek who was supposed to be Trotsky's "Foreign Minister," were nettled by the fact that Trotsky had entered into such important negotiations without having first consulted them.

After hearing Krestinsky's report, Radek sent off a special message to Trotsky asking for "further clarification on the question of foreign policy."

Trotsky's reply, written from France, was handed to Radek a few weeks later by Vladimir Romm, a young foreign correspondent of the Soviet News Agency Tass who was serving as a Trotskyite courier. Romm had received the letter from Trotsky in Paris and had smuggled it into Russia concealed in the cover of the popular Soviet novel, *Tsuisima*. Radek later described the contents of this letter as follows:—

Trotsky put the question in this way: the accession of Fascism to power in Germany had fundamentally changed the whole situation. It implied war in the near future, inevitable war, the more so that the situation was simultaneously becoming acute in the Far East. Trotsky had no doubt that this war would result in the defeat of the Soviet Union. This defeat, he wrote, will create favourable conditions for the accession to power of the *bloc*. . . . Trotsky stated that he had established contacts with a certain Far Eastern state and a certain Central European state, and that he had openly told semi-official circles of these states that the *bloc* stood for a bargain with them and was prepared to make considerable concessions both of an economic and a territorial character.

In the same letter, Trotsky informed Radek that the Russian Trotskyites working in diplomatic posts would be approached in the near future by certain foreign representatives and that, when this took place, the Trotskyite diplomats were to confirm their loyalty to Trotsky and to assure the foreign representatives that they stood

behind Trotsky in every way. . . .

Grigori Sokolnikov, the Trotskyite Assistant Commissar for Eastern Affairs, hurried into Radek's office at *Izvestia* a short time later. "Just imagine," Sokolnikov burst out nervously as soon as the door was closed. "I am conducting negotiations at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The conversation comes to a close. The interpreters have left the room. The Japanese envoy suddenly turns to me and asks: am I informed about the proposals Trotsky has made to his Government?"

Sokolnikov was highly perturbed by the incident. "How does Trotsky visualize this?" he asked Radek. "How can I, as Assistant People's Commissar, conduct such negotiations? This is an absolutely impossible situation!"

Radek tried to calm his agitated friend. "Don't get excited," he said. "Trotsky obviously doesn't understand the situation here." Radek went on to assure Sokolnikov that it would not happen again. He had already written to Trotsky telling him that it was impossible for the Russian Trotskyites to carry on negotiations with German and Japanese agents—"under the eyes of OGPU." The Russian Trotskyites, said Radek, would have to "put their mandate on Trotsky's visa" to go ahead with the negotiations on his own, so long as he kept them fully informed of the progress. . . .

Soon after, Radek himself was attending a diplomatic function in Moscow when a German diplomat sat down beside him and quietly said: "Our leaders know that Mr. Trotsky is striving for a *rapprochement* with Germany. Our leaders want to know, what does this idea of Mr. Trotsky signify? Perhaps it is the idea of the *émigré* who sleeps badly? What is behind these ideas?"

Describing his reaction to this unexpected Nazi approach Radek later said:—

Of course, his talk with me lasted only a couple of minutes; the atmosphere of a diplomatic reception is not suited to lengthy perorations. I had to make my decision literally in one second and give him an answer. . . . I told him that realist politicians in the U.S.S.R. understand the significance of a German-Soviet *rapprochement* and are prepared to make the necessary concessions to achieve this *rapprochement*.

2. THE DIPLOMACY OF TERROR

While the Russian conspirators were cementing their treasonable ties with the representatives of Germany and Japan, another phase of the secret offensive against the Soviet Government was already under way. Treason was being supplemented by terror. . . .

In September, 1934, V. R. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. arrived in Siberia on an inspection tour of the mining and industrial areas. Molotov was returning from a visit to one of the mines at the Kuznetsk coal basin when the car in which he was driving suddenly went off the road, careened down a steep embankment and stopped just at the edge of a steep

gully. Severely shaken and bruised, but otherwise unhurt, Molotov and his companions scrambled from the overturned car. They had narrowly escaped death. . . .

The driver of the car was Valentine Arnold, the manager of the local garage. Arnold was a member of the Trotskyite terrorist apparatus. Shestov had instructed him to murder Molotov; and Arnold had deliberately driven the car off the road, intending to kill himself along with Molotov. The attempt failed only because at the last minute Arnold lost his nerve and slowed down as he approached the embankment where the "accident" was scheduled to have taken place.

By the autumn of 1934, Trotskyite and Right terrorist groups were functioning throughout the Soviet Union. In many places, Nazi and Japanese agents directly supervised the operations of these groups.

A list had been compiled of the Soviet leaders who were to be assassinated. At the head of the list was the name of Josef Stalin. Among the other names were Klementi Voroshilov, V. M. Molotov, Sergei Kirov, Lazar Kaganovich, Andrei Zhdanov, Vyacheslav Menzhinsky, Maxim Gorky and Valerian Kuibyshev.

The terrorists periodically received messages from Leon Trotsky stressing the urgency of eliminating the Soviet leaders. One of these messages reached Ephraim Dretzer, Trotsky's former bodyguard, in October, 1934. Trotsky had written it in invisible ink on the margins of a German motion picture magazine. It was brought to Dretzer by his sister, who had been given the magazine by a Trotskyite courier in Warsaw. Trotsky's message to Dretzer read:—

Dear friend. Convey that today we have the following main tasks before us:

- 1) To remove *Stalin* and *Voroshilov*.
- 2) To unfold work for organising nuclei in the army.
- 3) In the event of war, to take advantage of every setback and confusion to capture the leadership.

The message was signed *Starik* ("Old Man"), which was Trotsky's code signature.

The Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center was to carry out the first major blow of the conspiracy against the Soviet Government. This first blow was the assassination of Sergei Kirov, Secretary of the Leningrad Party, and one of Stalin's closest co-workers in the Soviet Government. . . .

On December 1, 1934, at 4.27, Sergei Kirov left his office in the Smolny Institute. He walked down the long marble-lined corridor leading to a room where he was to deliver a report on the decision of the Central Committee to abolish the bread-rationing system. As Kirov passed an intersecting corridor, a man sprang out, thrust a revolver at the back of Kirov's head and fired.

At 4.30 p.m. Sergei Kirov was dead.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Murder in the Kremlin

1. YAGODA

IN May, 1934, six months before the assassination of Sergei Kirov, a heart attack caused the death of Vyacheslav R. Menzhinsky, the long-ailing Chairman of the OGPU. His post was filled by forty-three-year-old OGPU Vice-Chairman, Henry G. Yagoda, a short, quiet, efficient-looking man with a receding chin and a trim little moustache.

Henry Yagoda was a secret member of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. He had joined the conspiracy in 1929, as a member of the Right Opposition, not because he believed in Bukharin's or Trotsky's program, but because he thought the oppositionists were destined to come to power in Russia. Yagoda wanted to be on the winning side. In his own words:—

I followed the course of the struggle with great attention, having made up my mind beforehand that I would join the side which emerged victorious from this struggle. . . .

As Vice-Chairman of the OGPU, Yagoda was able to protect the conspirators from exposure and arrest. "I took all measures in the course of a number of years," he later stated, "to guard the organization, particularly its center, against exposure." Yagoda appointed members of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites as special agents in the OGPU. In this way, a number of agents of foreign Intelligence Services were able to penetrate the Soviet secret police and, under Yagoda's protection, carry on espionage activities for their respective governments. "I considered them," Yagoda said later, referring to the foreign spies, "as a valuable force in the realization of the conspiratorial plans, particularly along the lines of maintaining connections with foreign Intelligence Services."

In 1933, Ivan Smirnov, the leading organizer of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center, was unexpectedly arrested by Soviet Government agents. Yagoda could not prevent his arrest. On pretext of examining the prisoner, Yagoda visited Smirnov in his cell and "coached him" on how to behave under questioning.

In 1934, before the murder of Kirov, the terrorist Leonid Nikolayev was picked up by OGPU agents in Leningrad. In his possession they found a gun and a chart showing the route which Kirov travelled daily. When Yagoda was notified of Nikolayev's arrest, he instructed Zaporazhetz, assistant chief of the Leningrad OGPU, to release the terrorist without further examination. Zaporozhnetz was one of Yagoda's men. He did what he was told.

A few weeks later, Nikolayev murdered Kirov.

But the murder of Kirov was one of a number of murders carried out by the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites with the direct aid of Henry Yagoda. . . .

Behind his quiet, efficient exterior, Yagoda concealed an inordinate ambition, ferocity and cunning. With the secret operations of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites depending more and more on his protection, the Vice-Chairman of the OGPU began to conceive of himself as the central figure and dominating personality of the entire conspiracy.

Yagoda had his own ideas about the kind of government which would be set up after Stalin was overthrown. It would be modeled on that of Nazi Germany, he told Bulanov. Yagoda himself would be the leader; the "philosopher" Bukharin, as Yagoda puts it, would be "Dr. Goebbels."

As for Trotsky, Yagoda was not sure if he would permit Trotsky to return to Russia. It would depend on circumstances. Meanwhile, however, Yagoda was prepared to make use of Trotsky's negotiations with Germany and Japan. The *coup d'etat*, said Yagoda, must be timed to coincide with the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union.

The decision of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites to adopt terrorism as a political weapon against the Soviet regime had Yagoda's endorsement. The decision was communicated to him by Y. S. Yenukidze, a former soldier and official of the Kremlin secretariat, who was the chief organizer of terrorism for the Rights. Yagoda had only one objection. The terrorist methods employed by the conspirators seemed to him too primitive and dangerous. Yagoda set out to devise a more subtle means of political murder than the traditional assassin's bombs, knives or bullets.

At first, Yagoda experimented with poisons. He set up a secret laboratory and put several chemists to work. His aim was to contrive a method of killing which made exposure impossible. "Murder with a guarantee," was the way Yagoda put it.

But even poisons were too crude. Before long, Yagoda developed his own special technique of murder. He recommended it as a perfect weapon to the leaders of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. "It is very simple," said Yagoda. "A person naturally falls ill, or he has been ill for some time. Those who surround him become accustomed, as is also natural, to the idea that the patient will either die or recuperate. The physician who treats the patient has the will to facilitate the patient's recovery or his death. . . . Well? All the rest is a matter of technique."

One had only to find the right physicians.

2. THE MURDER OF MENZHINSKY

The first physician Yagoda involved in his unique murder scheme was Dr. Leo Levin, a corpulent, middle-aged, obsequious man, who liked to boast his disinterest in political affairs. Dr. Levin was Yagoda's own physician. More important to Yagoda was the fact that Dr. Levin was a prominent member of the Kremlin Medical Staff. Among his regular patients were a number of prominent Soviet

eaders, including Yagoda's superior, Vyacheslav Menzhinsky, the Chairman of the OGPU.

Under Yagoda's manipulations, the unsuspecting Dr. Levin accepted what amounted to a number of bribes and committed some minor infractions of Soviet laws. Then Yagoda came bluntly to the point. He told Dr. Levin that a secret opposition movement, of which he himself was one of the leaders, was about to come to power in the Soviet Union. The conspirators, said Yagoda, could make good use of Dr. Lenin's services. Certain Soviet leaders, among them some of them Dr. Levin's patients had to be put out of the way.

"Have in mind," Yagoda told the terrified doctor, "that you cannot help obeying me, you cannot get away from me. Once I place confidence in you with regard to this thing, you must appreciate this and you must carry this out. You cannot tell anybody about it. Nobody will believe you. They will believe not you, but me." Yagoda added: "Let us now drop the conversation; you think it over at home, and I shall call for you in a few days."

Dr. Levin subsequently described his reaction to Yagoda's words. He stated:—

I do not have to convey the psychological reaction, how terrible it was for me to hear this; I think that this is sufficiently understood. And then the ceaseless mental anguish. . . . He further said: "You are aware who is talking to you, the head of the institution is talking to you!" . . . He reiterated that my refusal to carry this out would spell ruin for me and my family. I figured that I had no other way out, that I had to submit to him.

Dr. Levin helped Yagoda to enlist the services of another physician who also frequently treated Menzhinsky. This physician was Dr. Ignaty N. Kazakov, whose distinctly unorthodox therapeutic methods were the cause of some heated controversy in Soviet medical circles during the early 1930's.

Dr. Kazakov claimed to have discovered an almost infallible cure for a wide range of illnesses by means of a special technique which he called "lysatotherapy." The OGPU Chairman Menzhinsky who suffered from angina pectoris and bronchial asthma had great faith in Kazakov's treatments and took them regularly.

On Yagoda's instructions, Dr. Levin went to see Dr. Kazakov. Dr. Levin said to him: "Menzhinsky is a living corpse. You're really wasting your time."

Dr. Kazakov looked at his colleague in astonishment.

"I'll have a special talk with you," said Dr. Levin.

"About what?" asked Dr. Kazakov.

"About Menzhinsky's health". . . .

Later, Dr. Levin came to the point. "I thought you were cleverer. You still haven't understood me," he told Kazakov. "I'm surprised you've undertaken Menzhinsky's treatment with so much zeal and you have even improved his health. You should never have allowed him to get back to work."

Then, to Dr. Kazakov's mounting amazement and horror, Dr. Levin went on:—

"You must realize that Menzhinsky is actually a corpse, and, by restoring his health, by allowing him to get back to work, you are antagonising Yagoda. Menzhinsky is in Yagoda's way and Yagoda is interested in getting him out of the way as soon as possible. Yagoda is a man who doesn't stop at anything."

Dr. Levin added:—

"Not a word of this to Menzhinsky! I am warning you that, if you tell Menzhinsky about it, Yagoda will destroy you. You'll not escape him no matter where you hide yourself. He would get you even if you were underground."

On the afternoon of November 6, 1933, Dr. Kazakov received an urgent call from OGPU headquarters. Dr. Kazakov was informed that Henry Yagoda wished to see him at once. A car was already on its way to pick up Dr. Kazakov and bring him to Yagoda's office. . . .

"Well, how do you find Menzhinsky's health?" was the first thing Yagoda said when he and Dr. Kazakov were alone in his office. The short, neat, dark Vice-Chairman of the OGPU was sitting behind his desk, coldly watching Dr. Kazakov's expression.

Dr. Kazakov replied that with the sudden renewal of the asthmatic attacks, Menzhinsky's condition was serious.

Yagoda was silent for a moment.

"Have you spoken to Levin?"

"Yes, I have," replied Dr. Kazakov.

Yagoda abruptly rose from his seat and began pacing back and forth in front of his desk. Suddenly, he whirled on Dr. Kazakov, furiously exclaiming, "In that case, why are you fiddling about? Why don't you act? Who asked you to butt into somebody else's affairs?"

"What do you want of me?" asked Dr. Kazakov.

"Who asked you to give medical aid to Menzhinsky?" asked Yagoda. "You're fussing with him to no purpose. His life is of no use to anybody. He's in everybody's way. I order you to work out with Levin a method of treatment whereby it will be possible to bring about a quick end to Menzhinsky's life!" After a pause, Yagoda added: "I warn you, Kazakov, if you make any attempt to disobey me I'll find means of getting rid of you! You'll never escape me . . ."

For Dr. Kazakov the days that followed were full of terror, fear and nightmarish events. He went about his work in a daze. Should he or should he not report what he knew to the Soviet authorities? To whom ~~could~~ he speak? How could he be sure that he was not talking to one of Yagoda's spies?

Dr. Levin, who saw him frequently during this period, told Kazakov of the existence of a vast undercover conspiracy against the Soviet Government. Famous, powerful state officials like Yagoda, Rykov and Pyatakov were in the conspiracy; brilliant writers and philosophers like Karl Radek and Bukharin had joined in; men in the army were secretly behind it. If he, Dr. Kazakov, performed

some valuable service for Yagoda now, Yagoda would remember it when he came to power. There was a secret war going on within the Soviet Union, and doctors, like other people, had to choose sides.

Dr. Kazakov succumbed. He told Levin that he would carry out Yagoda's orders.

Here, in Dr. Kazakov's own words, is the technique he and Dr. Levin used for the assassination of the Chairman of the OGPU Vyacheslav Menzhinsky:—

I met Levin and together with him worked out a method which consisted of the following. . . . Advantage was taken of the peculiarities of Menzhinsky's organism, of the combination of bronchial asthma and angina pectoris. . . . That was the fine point which was taken advantage of. . . .

Gradually, one set of preparations was introduced, while another was put aside. . . . It was necessary to introduce a number of heart stimulants—digitalis, adonis, atrophanthus—which stimulated the activity of the heart. These medicines were administered in the following order. First, lysates were administered; then there was an interval in the treatment with lysates; then heart stimulants were administered. As a result of this sort of treatment, a thorough weakening was brought about. . . .

On the night of May 10, 1934, Menzhinsky died.

The man who took his place as chief of the OGPU was Henry Yagoda.

3. MURDER WITH A GUARANTEE

One day, toward the end of August, 1934, a young secret member of the Right Opposition was summoned to the Kremlin office of Yenukidze, the Right terrorist organizer. His name was Venyamin A. Maximov. In 1928, as a student, Maximov had attended the special "Marxist School" which Bukharin then headed in Moscow. Bukharin had recruited him into the conspiracy. A clever, unscrupulous youth, Maximov had been carefully trained by the Right leaders and, after his graduation, placed in various secretarial posts. At the time he was summoned to Yenukidze's office, Maximov was the personal secretary of Valerian V. Kuibyshev, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and an intimate friend and co-worker of Stalin.

Yenukidze informed Maximov that "whereas formerly the Rights calculated that the Soviet Government could be overthrown by organizing certain of the more anti-Soviet minded strata of the population, and in particular the kulaks, now the situation had changed. . . . and it is necessary to proceed to more active methods of seizing power." Yenukidze described the new tactics of the conspiracy. In agreement with the Trotskyites, he said the Rights had adopted a decision to eliminate a number of their political opponents by terrorist means. This was to be done by "ruining the health of the leaders." This method, said Yenukidze, was "the most convenient because of the fact that on the surface it would appear in the nature of an unfortu-

nate issue to an illness and thereby make it possible for this terrorist activity of the Rights to be camouflaged."

"Preparations for it have already begun," Yenukidze added. He told Maximov that Yagoda was behind all this, and the conspirators had his protection. Maximov, as Kuibyshev's secretary, was to be used in connection with the assassination of the Chairman of the National Supreme Economic Council. Kuibyshev suffered from a serious heart condition, and the conspirators planned to take advantage of it.

"What is demanded of you," Yenukidze told Maximov, "is first, to give them (Yagoda's physicians) the opportunity of being unhindered so that they can be in frequent attendance on the patient so that there should be no hitch in their so-called visits to the patient; and, secondly, in the event of an acute illness; attacks of any kind, not to hurry in calling in the doctor, and if it is necessary, to call in only those doctors treating him."

Toward the fall of 1934, Kuibyshev's health suddenly took a sharp turn for the worse. He suffered intensely, and could do little work.

Dr. Levin later described the technique which, on Yagoda's instructions, he employed to bring about Kuibyshev's illness:—

The vulnerable spot in his organism was his heart, and it was this at which we struck. We knew that his heart had been in a poor condition over a considerable period of time. He suffered from an affection of the cardiac vessels, myocarditis, and he had slight attacks of angina pectoris. In such cases, it is necessary to spare the heart, to avoid potent heart stimulants, which would excessively stimulate the activity of the heart and gradually lead to its further weakening. . . . In the case of Kuibyshev we administered stimulants for the heart without intervals, over a protracted period, up to the time he made his trip to Central Asia. Beginning with August, until September or October, 1934, he was given injections without a break, of special endocrine gland extracts and other heart stimulants. This intensified and brought on more frequent attacks of angina pectoris.

At two o'clock on the afternoon of January 25, 1935, Kuibyshev suffered a severe heart attack in his office at the Council of People's Commissars in Moscow. Maximov, who was with Kuibyshev at the time, had previously been told by Dr. Levin that in the event of such an attack the correct thing for Kuibyshev to do was to lie down and remain absolutely quiet. Maximov was told that his job was to see that Kuibyshev did exactly the opposite. He persuaded the desperately ill man to walk home.

Ghastly pale and moving with extreme difficulty, Kuibyshev left his office. Maximov promptly called Yenukidze and told him what had happened. The Right leader instructed Maximov to keep calm and not to call any doctors.

Kuibyshev painfully made his way home from the building of the Council of People's Commissars to the house where he lived. Slowly

and with increasing agony, he climbed the stairs to his apartment on the third floor. His maid met him at the door, took one look at him and immediately telephoned his office that he was in urgent need of medical attention.

By the time doctors arrived at the house, Valerian Kuibyshev was dead.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Days of Decision

1. THE WAR COMES WEST

By 1935, plans for the joint German-Japanese attack on the Soviet Union were well advanced. The Japanese armies in Manchuria were staging repeated "probing" raids and sorties across the Soviet eastern border. The Nazi Fifth Columns were being readied in the Baltic and Balkan countries, in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Reactionary British and French diplomats were eagerly promoting Hitler's promised *Drang nach Osten*. . . .

On February 3, following discussions between the French Premier Pierre Laval and the British Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon, the French and British Governments announced their joint agreement to release Nazi Germany from certain of the disarmament provision of the Treaty of Versailles.

In the expectation that the arms were to be used against Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany's rearmament program was aided in every possible way by anti-Soviet statesmen in Great Britain and France. . . .

On March 1, after a plebiscite preceded by an intensive Nazi terror and propaganda campaign among the residents of the district, the Saar with its vital coal mines was handed over from France to Nazi Germany.

On June 18, eleven days after Tory Stanley Baldwin became British Prime Minister, an Anglo-German naval accord was announced. Nazi Germany was given the right to construct a new navy and "to possess a submarine tonnage equal to the total submarine tonnage possessed by the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The agreement was reached following an exchange of letters between Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and the new British Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare.

On November 3, *L'Echo de Paris* reported a conference which had taken place between the Nazi banker, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the Governor of the Bank of England, Sir Montagu Norman, and the Governor of the Banque de France, M. Tannery. According to the French journal, Dr. Schacht declared at the conference:—

We have no intention to change our Western frontiers. Sooner or later Germany and Poland will share the Ukraine, but for the moment we shall be satisfied with making our strength felt over the Baltic provinces.

In the face of the growing war threat, the Soviet Government repeatedly called for united action by all countries menaced by fascist aggression. Again and again, before the League of Nations and in the capitals of Europe, Soviet Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov urged collective security and alliances between the non-aggressor nations. On May 2, 1935, the Soviet Government signed a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with the Government of France, and on May 16, a similar treaty with the Government of Czechoslovakia.

"War must appear to all as the threatening danger of tomorrow," Litvinov told the League of Nations. "The organization of peace, for which thus far very little has been done, must be set against the extremely active organization of war."

In October, 1935, with the diplomatic blessing of Pierre Laval and Sir Samuel Hoare, the Italian Fascist armies of Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. . . .

The Second World War, which had started when Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931, was coming West.

On Soviet soil the secret fascist vanguard had already launched a major offensive against the war potential of the Red Army. In alliance with German and Japanese agents, the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites had begun their carefully planned, systematic campaign against Soviet industry, transport and agriculture. The objective was the undermining of the Soviet defence system in preparation for the coming war.

The campaign of total sabotage was being carried on under the expert supervision of Pyatakov, the Trotskyite Vice-Commissar of Heavy Industry.

2. A LETTER FROM TROTSKY

At the end of 1935, with war looming ever closer, a long-awaited letter from Trotsky was delivered by special courier to Karl Radek in Moscow. It came from Norway. With great anticipation, Radek unfolded and began to read the letter. On eight pages of fine English paper, Trotsky outlined the details of the secret agreement he was at last about to conclude with the Governments of Germany and Japan.

After a preamble stressing the "victory of German fascism" and the imminence of "international war," the letter reached its main topic:—

There are two possible variants of our coming into power. The first variant is the possibility of our coming into power before a war, and the second variant during a war.

It must be admitted that the question of power will become a practicable issue for the Bloc only as a result of the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in war. For this the Bloc must make energetic preparations. . . .

From now on, wrote Trotsky, "the diversive acts of Trotskyites in the war industries" would have to be carried out under the direct upervision of the German and Japanese High Commands." The

Trotskyites must undertake no "practical activity" without first having obtained the consent of their German and Japanese allies.

To secure the full backing of Germany and Japan, without which "it would be absurd to think we can come to power," the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites must be prepared to make considerable concessions. Trotsky named them:—

Germany needs raw materials, foodstuffs and markets. We shall have to permit her to take part in the exploitation of ore, manganese, gold; oil, apatites, and to undertake to supply her for a definite period with foodstuffs and fats at less than world prices.

We shall have to yield the oil of Sakhalin to Japan and to guarantee to supply her with oil in case of a war with America. We shall also have to permit her to exploit gold-fields.

We shall have to agree to Germany's demand not to oppose her seizure of the Danube countries and the Balkans and not to hinder Japan in her seizure of China. . . . We shall inevitably have to make territorial concessions. We shall have to yield the Maritime Province and Amur region to Japan, and the Ukraine to Germany.

Trotsky's letter concluded:—

We have to accept everything, but if we remain alive and in power, then owing to the victory of these two countries (Germany and Japan) and as a result of their plunder and profit a conflict will arise between them and others, and this will lead to our new development, our "Revanche."

The following morning Radek showed Trotsky's letter to Pyatakov. "It is necessary to meet with Trotsky by one way or another," said Pyatakov. He himself was about to leave the Soviet Union on official business and would be in Berlin for a few days. Radek should send an urgent message informing Trotsky of Pyatakov's trip and asking Trotsky to contact him in Berlin as soon as possible.

3. A FLIGHT TO OSLO

Pyatakov reached Berlin on December 10, 1935. Radek's message to Trotsky had preceded him, and a courier was waiting to contact Pyatakov as soon as he arrived in the Nazi capital. The courier was Dmitri Bukhartsev, a Trotskyite who was the *Izvestia* correspondent in Berlin. Bukhartsev told Pyatakov that a man named Stirner was bringing word from Trotsky. Stirner, the courier explained, was "Trotsky's man" in Berlin.

Pyatakov went with Bukhartsev to one of the lanes in the Tiergarten. A man was waiting for them. It was "Stirner". He handed Pyatakov a note from Trotsky. It read: "Y.L. (Pyatakov's initials), the bearer of this note can be fully trusted."

In a manner as terse as the note he delivered, Stirner stated that Trotsky was very anxious to see Pyatakov and had instructed him to make the necessary arrangements. Was Pyatakov prepared to travel by airplane to Oslo, Norway?

Pyatakov fully understood the risk of exposure involved in such a trip. However he had made up his mind to see Trotsky at all costs. He said he was willing to make the flight. Stirner told Pyatakov to be at the Tempelhof Airport the following morning.

When Pyatakov asked about a passport, Stirner replied, "Don't worry. I will arrange the matter. I have connections in Berlin."

At the appointed hour, next morning, Pyatakov went to the Tempelhof Airport. Stirner was waiting at the entrance. He indicated that Pyatakov was to follow him. As they walked towards the airfield, Stirner showed Pyatakov the passport which had been prepared for him. It was issued by the Government of Nazi Germany.

At the airfield, a plane was waiting, ready to take off. . . .

That afternoon the plane settled down over a landing field near the city of Oslo, Norway. An automobile was waiting for Pyatakov and Stirner. They were driven in the car for half an hour, until they reached a country suburb in the environs of Oslo. The car stopped in front of a small house.

Inside the house, Trotsky was waiting to receive his old friend.

The years of embittered exile had changed the man whom Pyatakov regarded as his leader. Trotsky looked older than his fifty-odd years. His hair and beard were gray. He stooped. Behind his pince-nez his eyes glittered with an almost maniacal intensity.

Few words were wasted on greetings. At Trotsky's orders, he and Pyatakov were left alone in the house. The conversation which followed lasted two hours.

Pyatakov began by making a report on the state of affairs inside Russia. Trotsky continually interrupted him with sharp, sarcastic comments.

"You can't break away from Stalin's navel cord!" he exclaimed. "You take Stalin's construction for socialist construction!"

Trotsky repeated his conviction that the collapse of Stalin's state was inevitable. Fascism would not tolerate much longer the development of Soviet power.

The Trotskyites in Russia were faced with this choice: either they would "perish in the ruins of the Stalin state," or they must immediately galvanize all their energies in an all-out effort to overthrow the Stalin regime. There must be no hesitation about accepting the guidance and assistance of the German and Japanese High Commands in this crucial struggle.

A military clash between the Soviet Union and the Fascist Powers was inevitable, Trotsky added, not at some remote time in the future but soon—very soon. "The date of the outbreak of war has already been fixed," said Trotsky. "It will be in 1937."

It was clear to Pyatakov that Trotsky had not invented this information. Trotsky now revealed to Pyatakov that for some time past he had been "conducting rather lengthy negotiations with the Vice-Chairman of the German National Socialist Party—Hess."

As a result of these negotiations with Adolph Hitler's deputy,

Trotsky had entered into an agreement, "an absolutely definite agreement," with the Government of the Third Reich. The Nazis were ready to help the Trotskyites to come to power in the Soviet Union.

"It goes without saying," Trotsky told Pyatakov, "that such a favourable attitude is not due to any particular love for the Trotskyites. It simply proceeds from the real interests of the fascists and from what we have promised to do for them if we come to power."

Concretely, the agreement which Trotsky had entered into with the Nazis consisted of five points. In return for Germany's assistance in bringing the Trotskyites to power in Russia, Trotsky had agreed:—

- (1) to guarantee a generally favourable attitude towards the German Government and the necessary collaboration with it in the most important questions of international character;
- (2) to agree to territorial concessions [the Ukraine];
- (3) to permit German industrialists, in the form of concessions (or some other forms), to exploit enterprises in the U.S.S.R. essential as complements to German economy (iron ore, manganese, oil, gold, timber, etc.);
- (4) to create in the U.S.S.R. favourable conditions for activities of German private enterprise;
- (5) in time of war to develop extensive diversive activities in enterprises of the war industries and at the front.

These diversive activities to be carried on under Trotsky's instructions, agreed upon with the German General Staff.

Trotsky kept stressing the urgency of the time factor.

"It is a matter of a comparatively short period," he insisted. "If we miss this opportunity, the danger will arise, on the one hand, of the complete liquidation of Trotskyism in the country, and on the other hand, of the existence of that monstrosity, the Stalin state, for decades, supported by certain economic achievements, and particularly by the new, young cadres who have grown up and have been brought up to take this state for granted, to regard it as a socialist, Soviet State—they don't think of any other state and they cannot conceive of any! Our task is to oppose ourselves to that state."

"Look," concluded Trotsky as the time for Pyatakov's departure drew near, "there was a time when we Socialist Democrats all regarded the development of capitalism as a progressive, as a positive phenomenon. . . . But we had different tasks, namely to organize the struggle against capitalism, to rear its grave-diggers. And so ~~now~~ we should go into the service of the Stalin state, not however to help build that state, but to become its grave-diggers—therein lies our task!"

At the end of two hours, Pyatakov left Trotsky in the small house on the outskirts of Oslo and returned to Berlin as he had come—by privately chartered plane, and carrying a Nazi passport.

4. ZERO HOUR

The Second World War, which Trotsky predicted would strike Soviet Russia in 1937, had already reached Europe. Following Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, events had moved swiftly. In June, 1936, Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland. In July, the Fascists struck in Spain with a *Putsch* of Spanish officers against the Republican Government. Under the pretext of "combating Bolshevism" and suppressing a "Communist revolution," German and Italian troops landed in Spain to aid the officers' revolt. The Spanish Fascist leader, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, marched on Madrid. "Four columns are marching on Madrid," boasted the drunken Fascist General Quiapo de Llano. "A Fifth Column is waiting to greet us inside the city!" It was the first time the world heard the fateful phrase—"Fifth Column."

Adolf Hitler, addressing thousands of troops at Nuremberg Nazi Party Congress on September 12, publicly proclaimed his intention of invading the Soviet Union.

"We are ready at any hour!" cried Hitler. "I cannot permit ruined states on my doorstep! . . . If I had the Ural Mountains with their incalculable stores of treasures in raw materials, Siberia with its vast forests, and the Ukraine with its tremendous wheat fields, Germany and the Nationalist Socialist leadership would swim in plenty!"

On November 25, 1936, the Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop and the Japanese Ambassador to Germany, M. Mushakoji, signed the Anti-Comintern Agreement in Berlin, pledging their combined forces to a joint attack against "World Bolshevism."

Aware of the imminent war danger, the Soviet Government initiated a sudden counteroffensive against the enemy within its own borders. During the spring and summer of 1936, in a series of startling raids throughout the country, the Soviet authorities swooped down on Nazi spies, secret Trotskyite and Right organizers, terrorists and saboteurs. One after another, the leaders of the first layer of the conspiracy were being tracked down.

A mood of feverish anxiety gripped the Russian conspirators. Now everything depended on the attack from without.

Yagoda's efforts to hamstring the official investigation were becoming increasingly reckless.

One of Yagoda's own men, NKVD agent named Borisov, was abruptly summoned to the special investigation headquarters at the molny Institute in Leningrad for questioning. Borisov had played ~~leading part~~ in the prearrangements for the murder of Kirov. Yagoda acted in desperation. While driving to the Smolny Institute, Borisov was killed in an "automobile accident." . . .

But the elimination of a single witness was not enough. The official investigation went on. Daily, new arrests were reported. Piece by piece the Soviet authorities were fitting together the intricate jigsaw of conspiracy, treason and murder. By August, almost all the leading members of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center were

under arrest. The Soviet Government announced that sensational new evidence had been brought to light as a result of the special investigation into Kirov's murder. Kamenev and Zinoviev were to stand trial.

The trial began on August 19, 1936, in the October Hall of the House of Trade-Unions in Moscow, before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Zinoviev and Kamenev, brought from prison where they were still serving their terms on previous convictions, faced the court along with fourteen of their former associates on charges of treason.

The trial—the first of the so-called “Moscow Trials”—exposed and smashed the Terrorist Center, the first layer of the conspiratorial apparatus. At the same time it established that the plot against the Soviet regime went much further and involved far more important forces than the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorists on trial. The public got its first glimpse of the intimate relationship that had developed between Leon Trotsky and the leaders of Nazi Germany.

On the evening of August 23 the Military Collegium of the Soviet Supreme Court handed down its verdict. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, and the thirteen other members of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite-Terrorist Bloc were sentenced to be shot for their terrorist and treasonous activities.

A week later, Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and Serbryakov were arrested. On September 27, Henry Yagoda was removed from his post as Chairman of the NKVD. His place was taken by N. I. Yezhov, the head of the special investigatory committee of the Central Control Commission of the Bolshevik Party. The day before he was moved out of the NKVD offices, Yagoda made a last wild attempt to poison his successor, Yezhov. The attempt failed.

It was zero hour for the Russian conspirators. The Right leaders, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy, were expecting their own arrests daily. They demanded immediate action without waiting for war. The panic-stricken Right trade-union chief, Tomsy, proposed an immediate armed attack on the Kremlin. It was dismissed as too risky. The forces were not ready for such an open venture.

At the final meeting of the chief leaders of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, just before Pyatakov and Radek went to prison, it was decided to prepare for an armed *coup d'etat*. The organisation of this coup, and direction of the entire conspiratorial apparatus, were placed in the hands of Nicolai Krestinsky, the Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Krestinsky had not exposed himself as the ~~others had~~ was unlikely to be suspected, and had maintained close communications with Trotsky and the Germans. He would be able to carry on even if Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy were arrested.

As his deputy and second-in-command, Krestinsky selected Arkady Rosengoltz, who recently had returned to Moscow from Berlin where for many years he had headed the Soviet Foreign Trade Commission. A tall, fair, athletic-looking man, who had held important

posts in the Soviet administration, Rosengoltz had kept his Trotskyite affiliations a careful secret. Only Trotsky and Krestinsky knew Rosengoltz's role as a Trotskyite and as a paid agent of the German Military Intelligence since 1923. . .

From this time on, direct control of the Bloc of the Rights and Trotskyites was in the hands of two Trotskyites who were both German Agents: Krestinsky and Rosengoltz. After a lengthy discussion they both decided that the time had come for the Russian Fifth Column to play its last card.

The last card was the military *Putsch*. The man who had been chosen to lead the armed rising was Marshal Tukhachevsky, Assistant Defense Commissar of the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The End of the Trail

1. TUKHACHEVSKY

In 1918, Mikhail Nicolayevich Tukhachevsky, a former Czarist officer, had joined the Bolshevik Party. He soon found his place among the military adventurers who surrounded War Commissar Trotsky; but he was careful not to become too involved in Trotsky's political intrigues. A trained and experienced army man, Tukhachevsky rose rapidly in the inexperienced Red Army Ranks. He commanded the First and Fifth Armies on the Wrangel front, participated in the successful offensive against Deniken and together with Trotsky led the unsuccessful counteroffensive against the invading Poles. In 1922 he became head of the Red Army Military Academy. He was one of the leading Russian officers to take part in the military negotiations with the German Weimar Republic which followed the Rapallo Treaty of that year.

In the year that followed, Tukhachevsky headed a small group of professional militarists and ex-Czarist officers in the Red Army General Staff who resented the leadership of the former Bolshevik guerrillas, Marshal Budyenny and Marshal Vorochilov. Tukhachevsky's group included the Red Army generals, Yakir, Kork, Uborevitch and Feldman, who had an almost slavish admiration for German militarism. Tukhachevsky's closest associates were the Trotskyite officer, V. I. Putna, who was military attache in Berlin, London and Tokyo and General Jan B. Gamarnik, a personal friend of the Reichswehr Generals Seeckt and Hammerstein.

Together with Putna and Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky soon formed a small influential pro-German clique within the Red Army General Staff. Tukhachevsky and his associates knew of Trotsky's deal with the Reichswehr, but they considered it a "political" arrangement. It was to be balanced by a military alliance between Tukhachevsky's Military Group and the German High Command. The coming t

power of Hitler in no way altered the secret understanding between Tukhachevsky and the German military leaders. Hitler, like Trotsky, was a "politician." The military men had their own ideas.

Ever since the organization of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, Trotsky had regarded Tukhachevsky as the trump card of the whole conspiracy, to be played only at the ultimate, strategic moment. Trotsky maintained his relations with Tukhachevsky chiefly through Krestinsky and the Trotskyite military attache, Putna. Later, Bukharin appointed Tomsy as his personal liaison with the Military Group. Both Trotsky and Bukharin were fully aware of Tukhachevsky's contempt for "politicians" and "ideologists" and they feared his military ambitions. Discussing with Tomsy the possibility of calling the Military Group into Action, Bukharin asked:—

"How does Tukhachevsky visualise the mechanisation of the coup?"

"That's the business of the military organization," Tomsy replied. He added that the moment the Nazis attacked Soviet Russia, the Military Group planned to "open the front to the Germans"—that is to surrender to the German High Command. This plan had been worked out in detail and agreed upon by Tukhachevsky, Putna, Gamarnik and the Germans.

"In that case," said Bukharin thoughtfully, "we might be able to get rid of the Bonapartist danger that alarms me."

Tomsy did not understand. Bukharin went on to explain: Tukhachevsky would try to set up a military dictatorship; he might even try to get popular support by making scapegoats of the political leaders of the conspiracy. But, once in power, the politicians could turn the tables on the Military Group. Bukharin told Tomsy: "It might be necessary to try those guilty of the 'defeat' at the front. This will enable us to win over the masses by playing on patriotic slogans. . . ."

2. THE TRIAL OF THE TROTSKYITE PARALLEL CENTRE

The Soviet Government was also moving into action. The revelations at the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial had established beyond doubt that the conspiracy in the country went far beyond mere secret "left" opposition. The real centers of the conspiracy were not in Russia at all; they were in Berlin and Tokyo. As the investigation continued the true shape and character of the Axis Fifth Column was becoming clearer to the Soviet Government.

On January 23, 1937, Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov, Shestov, Murlov and twelve of their fellow conspirators, including key agents of the German and Japanese Intelligence Services went on trial for treason in Moscow before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

For months the leading members of the Trotskyite Center had denied the charges brought against them. But the evidence against them was complete and overwhelming. One by one they admitted they had directed sabotage and terrorist activities, and maintained connections, on Trotsky's instructions, with the German and Japanese Gov-

ernments. But, at the preliminary interrogation as at the trial, they still did not divulge the whole picture. They said nothing about the existence of the Military Group; they did not mention Krestinsky or Rosengeltz; they remained silent about the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, the final and most powerful "layer" of the conspiracy, which, even as they were being cross-examined, was feverishly preparing to seize power.

In prison, Sokolnikov, the former Assistant Commissar in charge of Eastern Affairs, had revealed the political aspects of the conspiracy; the deal with Hess, the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., the plan to set up a fascist dictatorship after the overthrow of the Soviet regime. In court, Sokolnikov testified:—

We considered that fascism was the most organised form of capitalism, that it would triumph and seize Europe and stifle us. It was therefore better to come to terms with it. . . . All this was explained by the following argument: better make certain sacrifices, even very severe ones, than lose everything . . . we reasoned as politicians . . . we figured we had to take certain chances.

Pyatakov admitted that he was the leader of the Trotskyite Center. Speaking in a quiet deliberate voice, choosing his words carefully, the former member of the Supreme National Economic Council testified to the established facts of the sabotage and terrorist activities which he had been directing up to the moment of his arrest. Standing in the dock, his long, thin, pallid face absolutely impassive, he looked, according to the American Ambassador Joseph E. Davis, "like a professor delivering a lecture."

As John Gunther later reported in *Inside Europe*:—

The impression held widely abroad that the defendants all told the same story, that they were abject and grovelling, that they behaved like sheep in the executioner's pen, isn't quite correct. They argued stubbornly with the prosecutor; in the main they told only what they were forced to tell. . . .

As the trial proceeded, and the testimony of one defendant after another remorsefully exposed Pyatakov as a cold-blooded and calculating political assassin and traitor, a note of doubt and depression began to creep into his hitherto calm and balanced voice. Some of the facts in the possession of the authorities came as an obvious shock to him. Pyatakov's attitude changed. He pleaded that, even before his arrest, he had begun to question Trotsky's leadership. He said he did not approve of the deal with Hess. "We had got into a blind alley," Pyatakov told the court. "I was seeking a way out. . . ." In his last plea to the court, Pyatakov exclaimed:—

Yes, I was a Trotskyite for many years! I worked hand in hand with the Trotskyites . . . Do not think, Citizen Judges . . . that during these years spent in the suffocating underworld

of Trotskyism, I did not see what was happening in the country! Do not think that I did not understand what was being done in industry. I tell you frankly: at times, when emerging from the Trotskyite underworld and engaging in my other practical work, I sometimes felt a kind of relief, and of course, humanly speaking, this duality was not only a matter of outward behavior, but there was also a duality within me . . . In a few hours you will pass your sentence . . . Do not deprive me of one thing, *Citizen Judges*. Do not deprive me of the right to feel that in your eyes, too, I have found strength in myself, albeit too late, to break with my criminal past!

But, to the last, not a word of the existence of the remaining "layer" of the conspiracy passed Pyatakov's lips . . .

Karl Radek, peering through his thick glasses at the crowded courtroom, was in turn humble, ingratiating, impertinent and arrogant under the cross-examination of the Prosecutor Vyshinsky. Like Pyatakov, but more fully, he admitted his treasonable activities. Radek also claimed that, before his arrest, and as soon as he received Trotsky's letter outlining the deal with the Nazi and Japanese Governments, he had made up his mind to repudiate Trotsky and to expose the conspiracy. For weeks, he debated what to do.

VYSHINSKY. What did you decide?

RADEK. The first step to take would be to go to the Central Committee of the Party, to make a statement, to name all the persons. This I did not do. It was not I that went to the G.P.U., but the G.P.U. that came for me.

VYSHINSKY. An eloquent reply!

RADEK: A sad reply.

The verdict was handed down on January 30, 1937. The accused were found guilty of treason—of being "an agency of the German and Japanese fascist forces for espionage, diversive and wrecking activities" and of plotting to assist "foreign aggressors to seize the territory of the U.S.S.R."

The Military Collegium of the Soviet Supreme Court sentenced Pyatakov, Muralov, Shestov, and ten others to be shot. Radek, Sokolnikov and two minor agents were sentenced to long prison terms.

The American Ambassador in Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, was profoundly impressed by the trial. He attended it daily and assisted by an interpreter, carefully followed the proceedings. A former corporation lawyer, Ambassador Davies stated that the Soviet Prosecutor Vyshinsky, who was being currently described by anti-Soviet propagandists as a "brutal Inquisitor," impressed him as being "much like Homer Cummings, calm, dispassionate, intellectual and able and wise. He conducted the treason trial in a manner that won my respect and admiration as a lawyer."

On February 17, 1937, Ambassador Davies reported in a confidential dispatch to Secretary of State Cordell Hull that almost all the foreign diplomats in Moscow shared his opinion of the justice of the verdict. Ambassador Davies wrote:—

I talked to many, if not all, of the members of the Diplomatic Corps here and, with possibly one exception, they are all of the opinion that the proceedings established clearly the existence of a political plot and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

But these facts were not made public. Powerful forces conspired to hide the truth about the Fifth Column in Soviet Russia. On March 11, 1937, Ambassador Davies recorded in his Moscow diary:—

Another diplomat, Minister •——, made a most illuminating statement to me yesterday. In discussing the trial, he said that the defendants were undoubtedly guilty; that all of us who attended the trial had practically agreed upon that; that the outside world, from the press reports, however, seemed to think that the trial was a put-up job (facade, as he called it); that while he knew it was not, it was probably just as well that the outside world should think so.

3. ACTION IN MAY

The conspiracy was still far from being smashed. Like Pyatakov, Radek also withheld important information from the Soviet authorities despite the seeming fullness of his testimony. But the remaining conspirators were convinced that any further delay of the final coup would be suicidal.

Krestinsky, Rosengoltz, Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik held a series of hurried secret conferences. Tukhachevsky began assigning officers in the Military Group to special "commands," each of which would have specific tasks to carry out at the moment of the attack.

By the end of March, 1937, the preparations for the military coup were in their final stages. At a meeting with Krestinsky and Rosengoltz, in the latter's Moscow apartment, Tukhachevsky announced that the Military Group would be ready for action within six weeks. The date of action could be set for the early part of May, at any rate before May 15th. There were a "number of variants" for the actual means of seizing power under discussion among the Military Group, he said.

One of these plans, the one on which Tukhachevsky "counted most" Rosengoltz later stated, was "for a group of military men, his adherents, gathering in his apartment on some pretext or other, making their way into the Kremlin, seizing the Kremlin telephone exchange, and killing the leaders of the Party and the Government." Simultaneously, according to this plan, Gamarnik and his units would "seize the building of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs."

April passed swiftly with the hectic last-minute preparations for the coup.

Krestinsky began drawing up lengthy lists "of people in Moscow to be arrested and removed from their posts at the outbreak of the coup, and lists of people who could be appointed to these vacancies." Gunmen under Gamarnik's command were assigned to kill Molotov and Voroshilov. Rosengoltz, in his capacity of Foreign Trade Commissar, talked of getting an appointment with Stalin on the eve of the coup and murdering the Soviet leader in his Kremlin headquarters.

It was the second week in May, 1937.

Then, swiftly and devastatingly, the Soviet Government struck. On the eleventh of May, Marshal Tukhachevsky was demoted from his post as Assistant Commissar of War and assigned to a minor command in the Volga district. General Gamarnik was removed from his post as Assistant War Commissar. Generals Yakir and Uborevitch, associated in the plot with Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik, were also demoted. Two other Generals, Kork and Eideman, were arrested and charged with having secret relations with Nazi Germany.

An official communique disclosed that Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy, who had been under close surveillance and investigation, were now charged with treason. Bukharin and Rykov had been taken into custody. Tomsy, evading arrest, committed suicide. On May 31st, General Gamarnik followed Tomsy's example and shot himself. It was reported that Tukhachevsky and a number of other high-ranking army officers had been arrested by the NKVD. A short time later, Rosengoltz was arrested. The nation-wide roundup of suspected fifth columnists was continuing.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of June 11th, 1937, Marshal M. N. Tukhachevsky and seven other Red Army Generals faced a special Military Tribunal of the Soviet Supreme Court. Because of the confidential military character of the testimony to be heard, the trial was held behind closed doors. It was a military court-martial. The accused were charged with conspiring with enemy powers against the Soviet Union.

On June 12, the Military Tribunal announced its verdict. The accused were found guilty as charged and sentenced to be shot as traitors by a Red Army firing squad. Within twenty-four hours, the sentence was carried out.

Once again, wild anti-Soviet rumors and propaganda swept through the rest of the world. The entire Red Army was said to be seething with revolt against the Soviet Government; Voroshilov was "marching on Moscow" at the head of an anti-Stalin army; "mass shootings" were going on throughout Soviet Russia; from now on, the Red Army, having lost its "best generals," was "no longer a serious factor in the international situation."

Many honest observers were profoundly disturbed by the events in Soviet Russia. The character and techniques of the Fifth Column were still generally unknown. On July 4th, 1937, Joseph E. Davies,

the American Ambassador in Moscow, had an interview with the Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov. He told Litvinov frankly that the reaction in the United States and Europe to the execution of the generals and the Trotskyite trials was bad.

"Some day," said Litvinov, "the world will understand what we have done to protect our government from menacing treason . . . We are doing the whole world a service in protecting ourselves against the menace of Hitler and Nazi world domination, and thereby preserving the Soviet Union strong as a bulwark against the Nazi threat."

On July 28th, 1937, having conducted personal investigation into the actual situation inside Soviet Russia, Ambassador Davies sent "Dispatch Number 457, Strictly Confidential," to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. The Ambassador reviewed the recent events and dismissed the wild rumors of mass discontent and imminent collapse of the Soviet Government. "There were no indications (as per newspaper stories) of Cossacks camped near the Kremlin or moving about in the Red Square," he wrote. Ambassador Davies summed up his analysis of the Tukhachevsky case as follows:—

Barring assassination, or a foreign war, the position of this government and the present regime looks impregnable for the present, and probably for some time to come. The danger of the Corsican for the present has been wiped out.

4. FINALE

The last of the three famous Moscow Trials opened on March 2, 1938, in the House of Trade Unions, before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. The proceedings, including morning, afternoon and evening sessions, and *in camera sessions* at which testimony involved military secrets was heard, lasted seven days.

The accused numbered twenty-one. They included the former OGPU chief, Henry Yagoda, and his secretary, Pavel Bulanov; the Right leaders, Nicolai Bukharin and Alexei Rykov; the Trotskyite leaders and German agents, Nicolai Krestinsky and Arkady Rosengoltz, and fifteen other conspirators, members of the Bloc, saboteurs, terrorists and foreign agents, including the Trotskyite liaison man, Serge Bessonov, and the physician murderers, Doctors Levin and Kazakov.

The American correspondent, Walter Duranty, who attended the trial, wrote in his book, *The Kremlin and the People*:—

It was indeed the "Trial to end all Trials" because at this time the issues were clear, the Prosecution had marshaled its facts and learned to recognise enemies, at home and abroad. Earlier doubts and hesitations were now dispelled, because one case after another, especially, I believe, the case of the "Generals," had gradually filled in the picture which was so hazy and incomplete at the time of Kirov's murder. . . .

The trial of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites made public for the first time in history the detailed workings of an Axis Fifth Column. All the techniques of the Axis method of secret conquest—the propaganda, the espionage, the terror, the treason in high places, the machinations of Quislings, the tactics of a secret army striking from within—the whole story of the Fifth Column strategy by which the Nazis were already undermining Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, France and other nations of Europe and America, were fully exposed. “The Bukharins and Rykovs, Zagodas and Bulanovs, Krestinsky and Rosengoltzes . . .” declared the Soviet Prosecutor, Vyshinsky, in his summing-up address on March 11, 1938, “are the very same as the Fifth Column.”

Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who attended the proceedings, found the trial “terrific” in legal, human and political drama. He wrote to his daughter on March 8th:—

All the fundamental weaknesses and vices of human nature—personal ambitions at their worst — are shown up in the proceedings. They disclose the outlines of a plot which came very near to being successful in bringing about the overthrow of this government.

Some of the accused, pleading for their lives, tried to wriggle out of the full responsibility for their crimes, to shift the blame on others, to pose as sincere, misguided politicians. Others, without apparent emotion or expectation of escaping the death sentence, related the grim details of the “political” murders they had committed, and the espionage and sabotage operations they had carried on under the direction of the German and Japanese Military Intelligence Services.

The verdict was announced on the morning of March 13, 1938. All of the accused were found guilty. Three of them, Pletnev, Bessonov and Rakovsky were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The others were sentenced to be shot.

Three years later, in the summer of 1941, following the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R., Joseph E. Davies, former American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, wrote:—

There was no so-called “internal aggression” in Russia co-operating with the German High Command. Hitler’s march into Prague in 1939 was accompanied by the active military support of Henlein’s organisations in Czechoslovakia. The same thing was true of his invasion of Norway. There were no Sudeten Henleins, no Slovakian Tisos, no Belgian De Grelles, no Norwegian Quislings in the Russian picture. . . .

The story had been told in the so-called treason or purge trials of 1937 and 1938 which I attended and listened to. In re-examining the record of these cases and also what I had written at the time . . . I found that practically every device of German Fifth Columnist activity, as we now know it, was disclosed and

laid bare by the confessions and testimony elicited at these trials of self-confessed "Quislings" in Russia. . . .

All of these trials, purges, and liquidations, which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world, are now quite clearly a part of a vigorous and determined effort of the Stalin government to protect itself from not only revolution from within but from attack from without. They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clean out all treasonable elements within the country. All doubts were resolved in favor of the government.

There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941 — they had shot them. The purge had cleansed the country and rid it of treason.

The Axis Fifth Column in Soviet Russia had been smashed.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Murder in Mexico

THE chief defendant at all of the three Moscow Trials was a man five thousand miles away.

In December 1936, following the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial and the arrests of Pyatakov, Radek and other leading members of the Trotskyite Centre, Trotsky was forced to leave Norway. He crossed the Atlantic and reached Mexico on January 13, 1937. Trotsky set up a new headquarters in a villa in Coyoacan, a suburb of Mexico City. From Coyoacan, during the following months, Trotsky looked on helplessly while piece by piece the intricate and powerful Fifth Column in Russia fell apart under the hammer of blows of the Soviet Government. . . .

In Mexico, as in Turkey, France, Norway and everywhere else he had lived, Trotsky rapidly gathered around himself a coterie of disciples, adventurers and armed guards. Again, he lived in a fantastic atmosphere of intrigue.

The villa of Coyoacan where Trotsky made his Mexican headquarters was a virtual fortress. A wall twenty feet high surrounded it. In towers at the four corners sentinels armed with tommy guns stood watch day and night. In addition to the Mexican police unit specially detailed to duty outside the villa, Trotsky's armed bodyguards kept his headquarters under unceasing patrol. All visitors had to identify themselves, going through examinations as formidable as those at frontier posts. Their passes had to be signed and counter-signed. After gaining admittance through the gates in the high wall, they were frisked for concealed weapons on entering the villa itself.

Inside, the atmosphere was one of tense activity. A considerable staff was at work taking instructions and carrying out assignments from the leader. Special secretaries were preparing anti-Soviet

propaganda, Trotsky's proclamations, articles, books and secret communications in Russian, German, French, Spanish and English. As at Prinkipo, Paris and Oslo, many of Trotsky's "secretaries" had guns on their hips, and the same fantastic mood of intrigue and mystery surrounded the anti-Soviet conspirator.

Mail was heavy, pouring into the Mexican headquarters from all parts of the world. Not infrequently the mail required chemical treatment, the actual messages being written in invisible ink between innocuous visible lines. There was continuous telegraphic and cable correspondence with Europe, Asia and the United States. And endless stream of journalists, celebrities, politicians, mysterious incognito visitors, came to interview or confer with the "revolutionary" leader of the anti-Soviet movement. There were frequent delegations of foreign Trotskyites — French Trotskyites, American Trotskyites, Indian Trotskyites, Chinese Trotskyites, agents of the Spanish P.O.U.M.

From the fortified Coyoacan villa, Trotsky directed his worldwide anti-Soviet organisation, the Fourth International.

Throughout Europe, Asia, and North and South America, intimate ties existed between the Fourth International and the Axis Fifth Column network:—

In Czechoslovakia: Trotskyites were working in collaboration with the Nazi agent Konrad Henlein and his *Sudeten Deutsche Partei* (German Sudetan Party). Sergei Bessonov, the Trotskyite courier who had been a counselor at the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, testified when he was on trial in 1938 that in the summer of 1935 he had established connections in Prague with Konrad Henlein. Bessonov stated that he personally had acted as an intermediary between Henlein's group and Leon Trotsky.

In France: Jacques Doriot, Nazi agent and founder of the fascist Popular Party, was a renegade Communist and Trotskyite. Doriot worked closely, as did other Nazi agents and French fascists, with the French section of the Trotskyite Fourth International.

In Spain: Trotskyites permeated the ranks of the P.O.U.M. the Fifth Column organisation which was aiding Franco's Fascist uprising. The head of the P.O.U.M. was Andreas Nin, Trotsky's old friend and ally.

In China: Trotskyites were operating under the direct supervision of the Japanese Military Intelligence. Their work was highly regarded by leading Japanese Intelligence officers. The chief of the Japanese espionage service in Peiping stated in 1937: "We should support the group of Trotskyites and promote their success, so that their activities in various parts of China may benefit and advantage the empire, for these Chinese are destructive to the unity of the country. They work with remarkable finesse and skill."

In Japan: Trotskyites were called the "brain trust of the secret service." They instructed Japanese secret agents at special schools on the techniques of penetrating the Communist Party in Soviet Russia and of combating anti-fascist activities in China and Japan.

In Sweden: Nils Hyg, one of the leading Trotskyites, had received a financial subsidy from the pro-Nazi financier and swindler, Ivar Kreuger. The facts of Kreuger's subsidisation of the Trotskyites movement were made public after Kreuger's suicide, when the auditors found among his papers receipts from all sorts of political adventures, including Adolf Hitler.

Throughout the world, the Trotskyites had become the instruments by which the Axis intelligence services sought to penetrate the liberal, radical and labor movements for their own ends.

In September, 1939, a European Trotskyite agent, travelling under the name of Frank Jacson, arrived in the United States on the French liner *Ile de France*. Jacson had been recruited into the Trotskyite movement by an American Trotskyite, Sylvia Ageloff, while he was a student at the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1939 he was contacted in Paris by a representative of the secret "Bureau of the Fourth International" and told he was to go to Mexico to serve as one of Trotsky's "secretaries." He was given a passport which had originally belonged to a Canadian citizen, Tony Babich, a member of the Spanish Republican Army, who had been killed by the Fascists in Spain. The Trotskyites had obtained Babich's passport, removed his photograph and inserted Jacson's in its place.

Jacson was met on his arrival in New York by Sylvia Ageloff and other Trotskyites, and taken to Coyoacan, where he went to work for Trotsky. Subsequently Jacson informed the Mexican police:—

Trotsky was going to send me to Russia with the object of organising a new state of things in the U.S.S.R. He told me I must go to Shanghai, on the China Clipper, where I would meet other agents in some ships, and together we would cross Manchukuo and arrive in Russia. Our mission was to bring demoralisation to the Red Army, commit different acts of sabotage in armament plants and other factories.

Jacson never went on his terroristic mission to the Soviet Union. Late in the afternoon of August 20, 1940, in the heavily fortified villa at Coyoacan, Jacson murdered his leader, Leon Trotsky, by smashing his head in with an Alpine pickax.

Arrested by the Mexican police, Jacson said he had wanted to marry Sylvia Ageloff, and that Trotsky had forbidden the marriage. A violent quarrel, involving the girl, broke out between the two

men. "For her sake," said Jacson, "I decided to sacrifice myself entirely."

In further statements, Jacson declared:—

. . . in place of finding myself face to face with a political chief who was directing the struggle for the liberation of the working class, I found myself before a man who desired nothing more than to satisfy his needs and desires of vengeance and of hate and who did not utilise the workers' struggle for anything more than a means of hiding his own paltriness and despicable calculations.

. . . in connection with this house, which he said very well had been converted into a fortress, I asked myself very often, from where had come the money for such work . . . Perhaps the consul of a great foreign nation who often visited him could answer this question for us. . . .

It was Trotsky who destroyed my nature, my future and all my affections. He converted me into a man without a name, without country, into an instrument of Trotsky. I was in a blind alley . . . Trotsky crushed me in his hands as if I had been paper.

The death of Leon Trotsky left only one living candidate for the Napoleonic role in Russia: Adolf Hitler.

BOOK FOUR:

Second World War and After

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Second World War

1. MUNICH

"THE fateful decade 1931-1941," the U.S. State Department declared in its official publication, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy*, "began and ended with acts of violence by Japan. It was marked by the ruthless development of a determined policy of world domination on the part of Japan, Germany and Italy."

The Second World War began in 1931 with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria on the pretext of saving Asia from Communism. Two years later, Hitler overthrew the German Republic on the pretext of saving Germany from Communism. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia to save it from "Bolshevism and barbarism." In 1936 Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland; Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Agreement; and German and Italian troops invaded Spain on the pretext of saving it from Communism.

In 1937 Italy joined Germany and Japan in their Anti-Comintern Agreement; Japan struck again in China, seizing Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai. The following year, Germany seized Austria. The Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis was formed "to save the world from Communism. . . ."

Addressing the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1937, the Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov said:—

We know three states which in recent years have made attacks on other states. With all the difference between the regimes, ideologies, material and cultural levels of the objects of attack, all three states justify their aggression by one and the same motive — the struggle against Communism. The rulers of these states naively think, or rather, pretend to think, that it is sufficient for them to utter the words "anti-Communism," and all their international felonies and crimes will be forgiven them!

Under the mask of the Anti-Comintern Agreement, German, Japan and Italy were marching towards the conquest and enslavement of Europe and Asia.

Two possible courses faced the world: Unity of all nation

opposed to the Nazi, Fascist and Japanese aggression and the halting of the Axis war menace before it was too late; or disunity, the piecemeal surrender to aggression, and inevitable Fascist victory. The Axis Propaganda Ministries, the agents of Leon Trotsky, French, British and American reactionaries all combined in the international Fascist campaign against collective security. The possibility of unity against aggression was attacked as "Communist propaganda"; dismissed as a "utopian dream"; assailed as an "incitement to war." In its place was offered the policy of Appeasement, the scheme of turning the inevitable war into a united onslaught against Soviet Russia. Nazi Germany made the most of this policy.

In September, 1938, the policy of Appeasement reached its culmination. The Governments of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Great Britain and France signed the Munich Pact — the anti-Soviet Holy Alliance of which world reaction had been dreaming since 1918.

The Pact left Soviet Russia without allies. The Franco-Soviet Treaty, cornerstone of European collective security, was dead. The Czech Sudetenland became part of Nazi Germany. The gates of the East were wide-open for the Wehrmacht.

"The Munich Agreement," wrote Walter Duranty in *The Kremlin and the People*, "seemed to mark the greatest humiliation which the Soviet Union had suffered since the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk."

The world awaited the Nazi-Soviet war.

Returning to England, waving a scrap of paper in his hand, with Hitler's signature on it, Neville Chamberlain cried:—

"It means peace in our time!"

Twenty years before, the British spy, Captain Sidney George Reilly had cried: "At any price this foul obscenity which has been born in Russia must be crushed. . . . Peace, peace on any terms — and then a united front against the true enemies of mankind!"

On June 11, 1938, Sir Arnold Wilson, Chamberlain's supporter in the House of Commons, declared:—

Unity is essential and the real danger to the world today does not come from Germany or Italy . . . but from Russia.

But the first victims of the anti-Soviet Munich Pact were not the Soviet peoples. The first victims were the democratic peoples of Europe. Once again, the anti-Soviet facade covered a betrayal of democracy.

In February, 1939, the British and French Governments recognized the Fascist dictatorship of Generalissimo Franco as the legitimate government of Spain. In the last days of March, after two and a half years of epic, agonizing struggle against overwhelming odds, Republican Spain became a Fascist province.

On March 15, Czechoslovakia ceased to be an independent state. Nazi *Panzer* divisions rumbled into Prague. The Skoda munitions works and twenty-three other arms factories, comprising an armaments industry three times as great as that of Fascist Italy, became

Hitler's property. The pro-Fascist General Jan Sirovy, one-time leader of the Czech interventionist armies in Soviet Siberia, handed over to the German High Command the arsenals, storehouses, a thousand planes and all the first-rate military equipment of the Czechoslovakian Army.

On March 20, Lithuania surrendered its only port, Memel, to Germany.

On Good Friday morning, April 7, Mussolini crossed the Adriatic and invaded Albania. Five days later, King Victor Emanuel accepted the Albanian crown.

From Moscow, even as Hitler was moving into Czechoslovakia, Stalin warned the appeasement politicians of England and France that their anti-Soviet policy would end in a disaster for themselves. Stalin spoke in Moscow on March 10, 1939, before the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The undeclared war, said Stalin, which the Axis powers were already waging in Europe and Asia, under the mask of the Anti-Comintern Pact, was directed not only against Soviet Russia, but also, and now in fact primarily, against the interests of England, France and the United States.

"The war is being waged," said Stalin, "by aggressor states, which in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter drew back and retreated making concession after concession to the aggressors . . . without the least attempt at resistance and even with a certain amount of connivance. Incredible but true."

The reactionary politicians in the Western democracies, particularly in England and France, said Stalin, had rejected the policy of collective security. Instead, they still dreamed of an anti-Soviet coalition camouflaged by diplomatic phrases like "appeasement" and "non-intervention". But this policy said Stalin, was already doomed.

The Soviet Union still wanted international co-operation against aggressors and a realistic policy of collective security; but, Stalin made clear, such co-operation must be genuine and wholehearted. The Red Army had no intention of becoming a cat's-paw for the appeasement politicians of England and France. Finally, if the worst came, the Red Army was confident of its own strength and of the unity and loyalty of the Soviet people. As Stalin put it:—

" . . . in the case of war, the rear and front of our army . . . will be stronger than those of any other country, a fact which people beyond our border who love military conflicts would do well to remember."

But Stalin's blunt, significant warning was ignored.

In April, 1939, a poll of British public opinion showed that 87 per cent of the English people were in favour of an Anglo-Soviet alliance against Nazi Germany.

The voice of the British people went unheard.

"A hard and fast alliance with Russia," observed the London Times, "would hamper other negotiations." . . .

Soviet Russia was to be isolated and left alone to face a Nazi Germany passively, if not actively, supported by the Munich-minded governments of Europe.

Joseph E. Davies later described the choice that the Soviet Government was forced to make. Writing to President Roosevelt's advisor, Harry Hopkins, the former Ambassador to the Soviet Union stated on July 18, 1941:—

From my observations and contacts, since 1936, I believe that outside of the President of the United States alone no government in the world saw more clearly the menace of Hitler to peace and the necessity for collective security and alliances among non-aggressive nations than did the Soviet government. They were ready to fight for Czechoslovakia. They cancelled their non-aggressive pact with Poland *in advance of Munich* because they wished to clear the road for the passage of their troops through Poland to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia if necessary to fulfil their treaty obligations. Even after Munich and as late as the spring of 1939 the Soviet Government agreed to join with Britain and France if Germany should attack Poland or Rumania, but urged that an international conference of non-aggressor states should be held to determine objectively and realistically what each could do and then serve notice on Hitler of their combined resistance. . . . The suggestion was declined by Chamberlain by reason of the objection of Poland and Rumania to the inclusion of Russia. . . .

During all the Spring of 1939 the Soviets tried to bring about a definite agreement that would assume unity of action and co-ordination of military plans to stop Hitler.

Britain . . . refused to give the same guarantees of protection to Russia with reference to the Baltic states which Russia was giving to France and Britain in the event of aggression against Belgium or Holland. The Soviets became convinced, and with considerable reason, that no effective, direct and practical, general arrangement could be made with France and Britain. They were driven to a pact of nonaggression with Hitler.

Twenty years after Brest-Litovsk, the anti-Soviet politicians of Europe had again forced Soviet Russia into an undesired, self-defensive treaty with Germany.

On August 24, 1939, the Soviet Union signed a Nonaggression Pact with Nazi Germany.

2. WORLD WAR

On September 1, 1939, Nazi mechanized divisions invaded Poland at seven points. Two days later, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Within two weeks, the Polish regime, which under the influence of the anti-Soviet "Colonels' clique" had allied itself with Nazism, refused Soviet aid and opposed collective security,

fell to pieces, and the Nazis were mopping up the scattered remnants of their former ally.

On September 17, as the Nazi columns raced across Poland and the Polish Government fled in panic, the Red Army crossed the prewar Polish eastern border and occupied Byelorussia, the western Ukraine and Galicia before the Nazi *Panzer*s could get there. Moving swiftly westward, the Red Army occupied all the territory which Poland had annexed from Soviet Russia in 1920.

"That the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace . . ." declared Winston Churchill in a radio broadcast on October 1. "An Eastern Front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail. When Herr von Ribbentrop was summoned to Moscow last week it was to learn the fact, and accept the fact, that the Nazi designs upon the Baltic states and upon the Ukraine must come to a dead stop."

The advance of the Red Army to the west was the first of a series of moves by the Soviet Union counterbalancing the spread of Nazism and designed to strengthen Soviet defenses in preparation for the inevitable showdown with the Third Reich. . . .

During the last week in September and the first days in October, the Soviet Government signed mutual assistance pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These agreements specified that Red Army garrisons and Soviet airports and naval bases were to be established in the Baltic States.

But to the north, Finland remained as a potential military ally of the Third Reich.

The Finnish military leader, Baron Karl Gustav von Mannerheim, was in close and constant communication with the German High Command.

With the aid of German officers and engineers, Finland had been converted into a powerful fortress to serve as a base for the invasion of the Soviet Union. Nazi technicians had supervised the construction of the Mannerheim Line, a series of intricate, splendidly equipped fortifications running several miles deep along the Soviet border and having heavy guns at one point only twenty-one miles from Leningrad. As the Mannerheim Line neared completion in the summer of 1939, Hitler's Chief of Staff, General Halder, arrived from Germany and gave the massive fortification a final inspection. . . .

The Soviet Government proposed a mutual assistance pact with Finland. Moscow offered to cede several thousand square miles of Soviet territory on central Karelia in exchange for some strategic Finnish islands near Leningrad, a portion of the Karelian Isthmus and a thirty-year lease on the port of Hango for the construction of a Soviet naval base. The Soviet leaders regarded these latter territories as essential to the defense of the Red naval base at Kronstadt and the city of Leningrad.

In the middle of November, the pro-Nazi clique dominated the Finnish Government abruptly broke off negotiations.

By the end of November, the Soviet Union and Finland were at war.

The anti-Soviet elements in England and France believed that the long-awaited holy war was at hand. The strangely inactive west against Nazi Germany was the "wrong war." The real war lay to the east. In England, France and the United States, an intense anti-Soviet campaign began under the slogan of "Aid Finland."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, who only a short time before had asserted his country lacked adequate arms for fighting the Nazis, quickly arranged to send to Finland 144 British airplanes, heavy guns, 185,000 shells, 50,000 grenades, 15,700 aerial bombs, 100,000 greatcoats and 48 ambulances. At a time when the French Army was in desperate need of every piece of military equipment to hold the inevitable Nazi offensive, the French Government turned over to the Finnish Army 179 airplanes, 472 guns, 795,000 shells, 5,100 machine guns and 200,000 hand grenades.

While the lull continued on the Western Front, the British High Command, still dominated by anti-Soviet militarists like General Ironside, drew up plans for sending 100,000 troops against Scandinavia into Finland, and the French High Command made preparations for a simultaneous attack on the Caucasus under the leadership of General Weygand, who openly stated that French bombers in the Near East were ready to strike at the Baku oil fields.

Day after day, the British, French and American newspapers headlined sweeping Finnish victories and catastrophic Soviet defeats. But after three months of fighting in extraordinarily difficult terrain and under incredibly severe weather conditions with the temperature frequently falling to sixty and seventy degrees below zero, the Red Army had smashed the "impregnable" Mannerheim Line and routed the Finnish Army.

The undeclared war of Nazi Germany against Soviet Russia was on . . .

On the day that Finnish-Soviet hostilities ceased, General Mannerheim declared in a proclamation to the Finnish Army that "the sacred mission of the army is to be an outpost of Western civilization in the east." German troops began arriving in considerable numbers in Finland. Scores of Nazi agents swelled the staffs of the German Embassy at Helsinki and the eleven consulates around the country. . . .

The lull in the west came to a sudden end in the spring of 1940. On April 9 German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. Denmark was occupied in a single day without resistance. By the end of the month the Nazis had crushed organized Norwegian resistance and the British troops, which had come to aid the Norwegians, were abandoning their few precarious footholds. A puppet Nazi regime

mobs" incited by "cutthroats, criminals and degenerates"; the Red Army was an "undisciplined rabble"; Soviet economy was "unworkable" and Soviet industry and agriculture were "in a hopeless state of anarchy"; the Soviet people were just waiting for war to rise in rebellion against their "ruthless masters in Moscow."

The moment Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia, a chorus of voices in the United States predicted the immediate collapse of the U.S.S.R. Here are some typical statements made by Americans following the invasion of Soviet Russia:—

Hitler will be in control of Russia in thirty days—Congressman Martin Dies, June 24, 1941.

It will take a miracle bigger than any seen since the Bible was written to save the Reds from utter defeat in a very short time.—Fletcher Pratt, *New York Post*, June, 27, 1941.

Russia is doomed and America and Great Britain are powerless to prevent her swift destruction before the Blitzkrieg hammering of the Nazi Army.—Hearst's *New York American*, June 27, 1941.

... in staff work and leadership, in training and equipment they [the Russians] are no match for the Germans; Timoshenko and Budyenny and Stern are not the same caliber as Keitel and Brauchitch. Purges and politics have hurt the Red Army.—Hanson W. Baldwin, *New York Times*, June 29, 1941.

On November 20, 1941, an editorial "Ignorance of Russia" appeared in the *Houston Post*. It posed a question that was uppermost in many American minds. The editorial stated:—

Something that has not been satisfactorily explained is why the people of the United States for the last twenty years have been kept largely in ignorance of the material progress of Soviet Russia.

When Hitler attacked Russia, the almost unanimous opinion in this country was that Stalin could not last long. Our "best minds" had no hope for Russia. They looked forward to a quick conquest of the country by the Nazis. . . . Russia was expected by most Americans to fold up as the Nazis advanced. . .

How and why was this information kept from the American people for so long?

A barrier had been raised between the American people and the people of Soviet Russia ever since 1918. Artificial hatred and fear of Soviet Russia had been stimulated in America by reactionary politicians and businessmen, by White Russian *émigrés* and counter-revolutionary agents, and, finally, by representatives of the Axis Propaganda Ministries and Intelligence Services.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, White Russian *émigrés* began flooding America with anti-Soviet forgeries and stirring up suspicion and hostility against Soviet Russia. From the start, the anti-Soviet campaign of the Czarist *émigrés* in the United States merged with a fascist secret war against America itself.

The first Nazi cells were formed in the United States in 1921. They operated under Fritz Gissibl, head of the Nazi Teutonia Society in Chicago. That same year Captain Sidney George Reilly and his White Russian associates formed a branch of his International League against Bolshevism in the United States. Throughout the nineteen-twenties, Nazi agents like Fritz Gissibl and Heinz Spanknöbel, operating under orders from Rudolph Hess and Alfred Rosenberg, carried on their anti-democratic and anti-Soviet work in America in intimate collaboration with the anti-Soviet White Russians.

2. "SAVING AMERICA FROM COMMUNISM"

In 1931, a "Plan for an International Movement to Combat the Red Menace" was sponsored in the United States by an organization called the National Civic Federation. The founder and head of this organization, which specialised in anti-Communist and anti-labor agitation, was a former Chicago newspaperman, Ralph M. Easley.

The membership of Easley's National Civic Federation included Representative Hamilton Fish of New York; Harry Augustus Jung, a former labor spy and anti-Semitic propagandist in Chicago; George Sylvester Viereck, the ex-agent of the Kaiser and future Nazi agent; Matthew Woll, reactionary vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the National Civic Federation, who publicly referred to Soviet Russia as "this Red Monster—this Madman"; and a number of other prominent Americans interested in the anti-Bolshevik crusade.

Early in 1933, Easley became chairman of an organization called the American Section of the International Committee to Combat the World Menace of Communism. The International headquarters of this organization was in Europa House, Berlin. Many members of the National Civic Federation joined Easley in the new organization.

The American Section of the International Committee to Combat the World Menace of Communism sponsored the first official Nazi propaganda document to be circulated in the United States. It took the form of an anti-Soviet book, printed in English, and entitled *Communism in Germany*. The book was published in Germany by the firm of Eckhart-Verlag. Thousands of copies were shipped across the Atlantic for distribution in America. Through extensive mailings and at "patriotic" rallies in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and other cities, the book was widely circulated free of charge. A nationwide campaign of newspaper articles, lectures, meetings and form letters was arranged to promote the book in the United States.

The book was prefaced by this quotation:—

At the beginning of this year there were weeks when we were within a hair's breadth of Bolshevik chaos!

*Chancellor Adolf Hitler,
in his proclamation of the 1st,
September, 1933.*

The next page of the book featured the following statement:—

WHY AMERICANS SHOULD READ THIS BOOK

The question of Communist propaganda and activities is of immediate concern to the American people in view of the consideration now being given to the question of recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Government of the United States.

Here is a challenging book. It should be read by every thoughtful citizen because it presents the history of the life-and-death struggle Germany has been waging against Communism. It reveals that the slyversive methods and destructive objectives of the Communists in Germany are the same as are employed in the United States by those enemies of civilised nations. . . .

The value of this German expose as an object lesson to other countries has led our committee to place it in the hands of the leaders of public opinion throughout the United States.

Directly underneath this announcement there followed a list of names of leading members of the American Section of the International Committee to Combat the World Menace of Communism. Among the names was that of Representative Hamilton Fish.

In the early 1930's as chairman of a Congressional committee to investigate "American communism," Hamilton Fish was the chief spokesman of the White Russian anti-Soviet *emigres* in the United States and other inveterate foes of Soviet Russia. Among the "experts" who supplied Fish's committee with material were the former Ochrana agent, Boris Brasol, and the German propagandist, George Sylvester Viereck. After Hitler came to power in Germany, Fish hailed the Nazi leader as the man who had saved Germany from Communism. As a key exponent of isolationism and appeasement, Fish shared platforms with notorious American pro-Nazis and inserted their propaganda in the *Congressional Record*. In the fall of 1939 Fish conferred in Nazi Germany with Joachim von Ribbentrop, Nazi Foreign Minister; Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister; and other Axis leaders. Fish toured Europe in a German plane, urging a second Munich and claiming that "Germany's claims" were "just." In February, 1942 it was disclosed at the trial of the Nazi agent Viereck that Fish's Washington office had been used as the headquarters of a Nazi propaganda ring and that Fish's secretary, George Hill, was one of the key members of the German propaganda network in the United States. . . .

At the time of America's entry into the Second World War, scores of American fascist organisations describing themselves as "anti-Communist" were active throughout the United States. These organizations had received guidance and, many of them, financial support from Berlin and Tokyo. Paid agents of Nazi Germany had

founded a number of the organizations. Some of the organizations like the German-American Bund and the Kyffhauser Bund, made little attempt to conceal their foreign affiliation; others, like the Silver Shirts, the Christian Front, American Guards, American Nationalist Confederation, and the Crusaders for Americanism masqueraded as patriotic societies which were "saving America from the 'menace of Communism.'"

By 1939, no less than 750 fascist organizations had been formed in the United States, and were flooding the country with pro-Axis, anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet bulletins, magazines, newsletters and newspapers. In the name of saving America from Communism these organizations and publications called for the overthrow of the Government of the United States, the establishment of an American fascist regime, and an alliance with the Axis against Soviet Russia.

On November 18, 1936, William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Nazi inspired Silver Shirts, declared: -

Let us understand thoroughly that if a second civil war comes to this country, it will not be a war to overthrow the American government, but to overthrow the Jew-Communist usurpers who have seized the American government and bethought themselves to make it a branch office of Moscow. . . .

After the Nazi invasion of Soviet Russia, Father Charles Coughlin, leader of the pro-Nazi Christian Front, declared in the July 7, 1941, issue of his propaganda organ *Social Justice*:—

Germany's war on Russia is a battle for Christianity. . . .

We remember that atheistic Communism was conceived and brought to birth in Russia chiefly through the instrumentality of godless Jews.

The same propaganda was disseminated throughout the United States by Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender* of Wichita, Kansas; William Kullgren's *Beacon Light* of Atascadero, California; Cou Asher's *X-ray* of Muncie, Indiana; E. J. Garner's *Publicity* of Wichita, Kansas; Charles B. Hudson's *America in Danger* of Omaha, Nebraska; and many similar pro-Axis, anti-Soviet publications.

After Pearl Harbor, a number of these persons were indicted by the Department of Justice on charges of spreading seditious propaganda and plotting with Nazi agents to overthrow the United States Government. Nevertheless, throughout the war, they continued to spread the propaganda that the Axis Powers were waging "holy war" and that the United States had been tricked into the conflict by the connivance of "Jewish Communist conspirators" in Washington, London and Moscow."

3. LONE EAGLE

Late in 1940, as Hitler was completing the enslavement of Europe and preparing for his coming show-down with the Red Army, a strange phenomenon appeared on the American political scene. It was called the American First Committee. During the following year, on a national scale, through the medium of press, radio, ma-

rallies, street-corner meetings and every other kind of promotional device, the American First Committee energetically spread anti-Soviet, anti-British and isolationist propaganda among the American people.

The original leaders of the America First Committee included General Robert E. Wood; Henry Ford; Colonel Robert R. McCormick; Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye and Robert Rice Reynolds; Representatives Hamilton Fish, Clare E. Hoffman and Stephen Day; and Katharine Lewis, the daughter of John L. Lewis.

The leading woman spokesman for the Committee was the ex-aviatrix and socialite Laura Ingalls; she was subsequently convicted as a paid agent of the Nazi Government. Behind the scenes, another Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck, was writing much of the propaganda which America First publicists were circulating. Ralph Townsend, later convicted as a Japanese agent, headed a branch of the America First Committee on the West Coast and was a member of the editorial board of the Committee's propaganda organs, *Scribner's Commentator* and the *Herald*. Werner C. von Clemm, later convicted of smuggling diamonds into the United States in collusion with the German High Command, served as an incognito strategist and financial supporter of the New York branch of the America First Committee. Frank B. Burch, subsequently convicted of having received \$10,000 from the Nazi Government for illegal propaganda services in the United States, was one of the founders of the Akron, Ohio, branch of the Committee.

In July 1942, a Department of Justice indictment listed the America First Committee as an agency which had been used in a conspiracy to undermine the morale of the United States armed forces.

By far the most prominent leader and spokesman of the America First Committee was the famous American aviator, Charles A. Lindbergh, who had already distinguished himself as a pro-Nazi and anti-Soviet agitator in Europe and America.

Lindbergh had paid his first visit to Germany in the summer of 1936. He travelled as a guest of the Nazi Government. The Nazis held impressive ceremonies in Lindbergh's honor and extended many special favours to him. High Nazi officials personally conducted him on a private "inspection tour" of German war plants and air bases. Lindbergh was deeply impressed with Nazi Germany.

At the lavish parties given for him by Field Marshal Hermann Goering and other Nazi bigwigs, Lindbergh expressed his conviction that the German Air Force was unbeatable. "German aviation ranks higher than that in any other country," he told the *Luftwaffe* ace, General Ernst Udet. "It is invincible!"

"Wonder what the hell is the matter with that American?" the German air commander, General Bruno Loerzer, remarked to the political journalist, Bella Fromm. "He'll scare the wits out of the Yankees with his talk about the invincible *Luftwaffe*. That's exactly what the boys here want him to do."

"He's going to be the best promotion campaign we could possibly invest in," said Axel von Blomberg, the son of the Nazi Minister of War, after attending a party given for Lindbergh in 1936.

Two years later, in the crucially decisive days preceding the Munich Pact, Lindbergh visited the Soviet Union. He was there only a few days. On his return he immediately began spreading the word that the Red Army was hopelessly ill-equipped, badly trained and wretchedly commanded. He asserted that Soviet Russia would be useless as a partner in any military alliance against Nazi Germany. In his opinion, Lindbergh declared, it was necessary to co-operate with, not against, the Nazis.

Lindbergh's black and orange plane became a familiar sight on the airfields of Europe's anxious capitals as he flew from one country to another, advocating the formation of political and economic alliances with the Third Reich. . . .

As the Munich negotiations got under way, small select groups of anti-Soviet British businessmen, aristocrats, and politicians gathered at Lady Astor's estate at Cliveden to hear Lindbergh's views on the European situation. Lindbergh spoke of Germany's vast air power swiftly expanding war production and brilliant military leadership. The Nazis, he repeated again and again, were invincible. He recommended that France and Great Britain come to terms with Hitler and "permit Germany to expand eastward into Russia without declaring war."*

A series of intimate conferences were arranged for Lindbergh with British Members of Parliament and various key political figures. Among them was David Lloyd George, who subsequently had this to say about the American flyer:—

He was in Russia, I think, about a week. He had not seen any of the great leaders of Russia, he could not have seen much of the air force, and he came back and told us that the Russian Army was no good, that Russian factories were in an awful mess. And there were a great many who believed it—except Hitler.

Lloyd George's conversation with Lindbergh left the former Prime Minister with the conviction, as he put it, that the American flyer was "the agent and the tool of much more astute and sinister men than himself."

From the Soviet Union came the same accusation in more specific language. A group of outstanding Soviet flyers published a statement in Moscow accusing Lindbergh of circulating the "colossal lie" that "Germany possesses such a strong air force it is cap-

*Describing his activities during this period, Lindbergh told an American First Committee rally in the United States on October 30, 1941: "By 1938 I had come to the conclusion that if a war occurred between Germany on the one side and England and France on the other it would result either in a German victory or in a prostrate and devastated Europe. I therefore advocated that England and France . . . permit Germany to expand eastward into Russia without declaring war."

able of defeating the combined air fleets of England, France, Russia and Czechoslovakia." The Soviet airmen went on to say:—

Lindbergh plays the role of a stupid liar, lackey and flatterer of German Fascists and their English aristocratic protectors. He had an order from English reactionary circles to prove the weakness of Soviet aviation and give Chamberlain an argument for capitulation at Munich in connection with Czechoslovakia.

Three weeks after the signing of the Munich Pact, the Government of the Third Reich demonstrated its official appreciation of the services Lindbergh had rendered Nazi Germany. On the evening of October 19, 1938 at a dinner given in Lindbergh's honor in Berlin, Field Marshal Goering conferred on the American flyer one of Germany's highest decorations, the Order of the German Eagle. . .

Having lived abroad for three and a half years, Lindbergh returned to the United States shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939.

As soon as the Nazis invaded Poland, and Great Britain and France declared war on Germany, Lindbergh rushed into print with an urgent pronouncement: The war against Germany was the wrong war; the right way lay to the east.

During 1940 Lindbergh identified himself more and more closely with the isolationist, anti-Soviet, and frequently pro-Axis movement that was then mushrooming on the American scene. He became the leading spokesman for the isolationist No Foreign Wars Committee and the idol of the U.S. Fifth Column.

That fall Lindbergh addressed a small group of students at Yale University. "We must make our peace with the new powers in Europe," Lindbergh told them.

The meeting at Yale University had been arranged by a wealthy young student named R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., who was heir to the Quaker Oats fortune. Shortly afterwards, Stuart's group was incorporated in Chicago, Illinois, under the name of the America First Committee. . . .

Speaking at huge rallies staged throughout the country by the America First Committee and over coast-to-coast radio hookups, Lindbergh told the American people that Soviet Russia and not Nazi Germany was their real enemy. The war "between Germany on the one side and England and France on the other side," warned Lindbergh could only result "either in a German victory or in a prostrate and devastated Europe." The war must be converted into a united offensive against the Soviet Union.

The entire America First publicity apparatus was put to work in a nationwide campaign protesting the sending of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union. Charles E. Lindbergh, Representative Hamilton Fish, Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Gerald P. Nye, and other Congressional spokesmen for the America First Committee denounced aid to the Red Army and declared that the fate of Soviet Russia was of no concern to the United States.

Herbert Hoover took a part in the campaign. On August 5, together with John L. Lewis, Hanford MacNider, and thirteen other leading isolationists, the former President issued a public statement protesting the "promise of unauthorized aid to Russia and . . . other such belligerent moves." The statement declared:—

Recent events raise doubts that this war is a clear-cut issue of liberty and democracy. It is not purely a world conflict between tyranny and freedom. The Anglo-Russian alliance has dissipated that illusion.

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the America First Committee was officially disbanded. Its chairman, General Wood, pledged the support of the America First membership to the United States war effort against Germany and Japan. Lindbergh retired from the American public scene, and entered the employment of Henry Ford as a technical consultant to the Ford Motor Company.

But the anti-Soviet America First propaganda went on. . . .

When the Red Army began its great counteroffences in Russia, the former American First spokesmen, who had shortly before announced that Russia was smashed, now declared that Moscow and its "Comintern agents" were about to "communize" all of Europe.* When the Red Army approached its western borders, the American Firsters predicted that Soviet troops would not cross the frontier but would make a "separate peace" with Nazi Germany, leaving Britain and the United States to fight on alone. When the

*On May 22, 1943, the Comintern, or Communist International, was formally dissolved. In a special article for the United Press, the former American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Joseph E. Davies, summed up the dissolution of the Comintern as follows: "To the well-informed in the Foreign Offices of the world this action did not come as a surprise. It was simply facing the cap on the pedestal, to complete and close a chapter in the development of Soviet foreign policy. This can be best understood from a brief survey of the historical facts in connection with the Comintern. . . . It was organized in 1919 when the young revolutionary government was being attacked on all sides. . . . Under Stalin, however, it finally became a clearing-house for the working-class movement of other countries. In the democratic countries these (Communist) parties were advised to seek lawful status and to conduct their activities through peaceful and constitutional methods. In these countries, they generally became vociferous but non-violent minorities. Only in aggressor or hostile countries was it probable that Comintern support was actively given to revolutionary class warfare and internal subversive attacks upon Governments. . . . The enemy—the Nazis, Fascists, and Japs—have done their utmost to scare us with the bogey of the Communist threat to our Western civilization. It was done under the disguise of a so-called anti-Comintern pact that they originally got together in 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1940, a conspiracy to conquer us, as well as the rest of the world. . . . At one stroke, on May 22 (1943), Stalin and his associates in Moscow spoiled Hitler's game. . . . When they abolished the Comintern, they spiked the last gun of Hitler's propaganda. . . . The abolition of the Comintern, moreover, was a definite act, confirming their expressed purposes to co-operate with, and not to stir up trouble for, their neighbours, with whom they are pledged to collaboration to win the war and the peace. . . . The abolition of the Comintern contributes to the cementing of confidence between fighting allies in the war effort. It is also a contribution to postwar construction, in the building of a decent world community of nations, who, realistically, seek to build that world by co-operating and working together as good neighbours."

Red Army crossed its border, the American Firsters again raised the cry of a Europe "dominated by Moscow." . . .

Three of the most influential newspaper publishers in the United States, who had formerly sponsored the America First Committee, continued to spread vicious anti-Soviet propaganda even after the United States and Soviet Russia were allied in the war against Nazi Germany. These three publishers—William Randolph Hearst, Captain Joseph M. Patterson, and Colonel R. McCormick—printed for their many millions of readers an endless series of articles and editorials designed to arouse suspicion and antagonism against America's ally, the Soviet Union.

Here are some typical passages from their newspapers during the war:—

Summarizing the various war fronts, matters seem to be progressing very favourably in Russia—for RUSSIA. Of course, Russia is not a full partner of the United Nations. She is a semi-partner of the Axis.—Hearst's *New York Journal*, March 30, 1942.

What Stalin is getting at is this: He is preparing the way for a separate peace with Germany at the moment when he considers that this is good policy. He lays the ground for it by accusing the allies of not living up to their agreements. Therefore he is released from any that he may have made. He may not need this excuse. It is there if he wants it. He has prepared the ground.—McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*, August 10, 1943.

Which will smell better—a Russian Europe or a German Europe?—Patterson's *Daily News*, August 27, 1943.

President Roosevelt warned on April 28, 1942, that the war effort "must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin."

In the fall of 1944, as Nazi Germany faced imminent defeat as a result of the combined offensives of the armies of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, a renewed call to arms against Soviet Russia was heard in the United States.

From Rome, the recently liberated capital of Italy, William C. Bullitt, the former Ambassador to Moscow and Paris, called for a new anti-Soviet alliance to save Western civilization from the menace of "Soviet imperialism."

The career of William C. Bullitt had followed the usual pattern. . .

In 1919, Bullitt had been one of Woodrow Wilson's emissaries to Soviet Russia. Fifteen years later, in 1934, he became the first American Ambassador to Soviet Russia. Wealthy, ambitious, with a flair for diplomatic intrigue, Bullitt formed friendly relations with a number of the Russian Trotskyites. He began to talk of the necessity for Soviet Russia to surrender Vladivostok to Japan and to make concessions to Nazi Germany in the West. In 1935, Bullitt visited Berlin. William E. Dodd, then American Ambassador to

many, recorded in his diplomatic diary:—

Coming through Berlin in the spring or summer of 1935, (Bullitt) reported to me that he was sure Japan would attack eastern Russia within six months and he expected that Japan would take all the Far Eastern end of Russia.

Bullitt said Russia had no business trying to hold the peninsula which projects into the Japanese sea at Vladivostok. That all going to be taken soon by Japan. I said: You agree that if the Germans have their way Russia with 160,000,000 people shall be denied access to the Pacific and be excluded from the Baltic? He said: "Oh, that makes no difference." . . . was amazed at this kind of talk from a responsible diplomat. . .

At luncheon with the French Ambassador, he repeated his hostile attitude and argued at length with the French for the defeat of the Franco-Soviet peace pact then being negotiated, which the English Ambassador reported to me was the best possible guarantee of European peace. . . Later, or about the same time, when the new Italian Ambassador came directly from Moscow, we were told that Bullitt had become attracted to Fascism before leaving Moscow.

On January 27, 1937, Ambassador Dodd recorded:—

Recently reports have come to me that American banks are contemplating large new credits and loans to Italy and Germany whose war machines are already large enough to threaten the peace of the world. I have even heard, but it seems unbelievable to me, that Mr. Bullitt is lending encouragement to these schemes.

In 1940, after the fall of France, Bullitt returned from France to the United States to announce that Marshal Pétain was a "patriot" who, by surrendering to Nazism, had thereby saved his country from Communism.

Four years later, as the Second World War was drawing to its close, Bullitt reappeared on the European continent as a "correspondent" for *Life* magazine. From Rome he sent a sensational article to *Life*, which was published in that periodical on September 4, 1944, purporting to give the opinions of certain anonymous "Romans." Bullitt repeated the anti-Soviet propaganda which for twenty years had been utilized by international Fascism in its drive for world conquest. Bullitt wrote:—

A sad joke going the rounds in Rome gives the spirit of their (the "Romans") hope: What is an optimist? A man who believes that the third world war will begin in about 15 years between the Soviet Union and western Europe backed by Great Britain and the U.S. What is a pessimist? A man who believes that western Europe, Great Britain and the U.S. will not dare to fight.

Bullitt asserted that the menace against which Western civilization must unite was Moscow and its "Communist agents."

It was the same cry with which, a quarter of a century before

at the close of the First World War, Captain Sidney George Reilly had sought to rally counterrevolution throughout the world.

But profound changes had taken place in the world.

Even as William C. Bullitt was calling for a new crusade against Soviet Russia, the armies of Great Britain and the United States and the Soviet Union were converging from east, west, north and south upon the citadel of counterrevolution—Berlin.

In the face of the threat of Fascist slavery and against the most reactionary force which the world had ever seen, the Western democracies had found their most powerful ally in the state which had been born out of the Russian Revolution. The alliance was no accident. The inexorable logic of events, after a quarter of a century of tragic misunderstanding and artificially incited hostility, had inevitably brought together and forged into a fighting unity the freedom-loving peoples of the world. Out of the unparalleled bloodshed and suffering of the Second World War emerged the United Nations.

IN A STRUGGLE for existence, people learn to know their friends and to recognize their enemies. In the course of the Second World War, many illusions and lies were stripped bare.

The war presented the world with many surprises. The world was stunned at first when the Fifth Column emerged out of the underworld of Europe and Asia to seize power with the aid of the Nazis and the Japanese armies in many countries. The speed with which the early victories of the Axis were won astonished all those who had not known of the long years of secret Axis preparations, intrigue, terror and conspiracy.

But the greatest of all surprises of the Second World War was Soviet Russia. Overnight, it seemed, a thick false fog was torn apart, and through it emerged the true stature and meaning of the Soviet nation, its leaders, its economy, its army, its people, and, in Cordell Hull's words, "the epic quality of their patriotic fervor."

The first great realization which came out of the Second World War was that the Red Army, under Marshal Stalin, was the most competent and powerful fighting force on the side of world progress and democracy.

On February 23, 1942, General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army informed his fellow countrymen concerning the Red Army:—

The world situation at the present time indicates that the hope of civilisation rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past.

In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated army, followed by a smashing counterattack which is driving the enemy back to his own land.

The scale and grandeur of the effort mark it as the greatest

litary achievement in all history.

The second great realization was that the economic system of the Soviet Union was amazingly efficient and capable of sustaining mass production under unprecedentedly adverse conditions.

On his return from an official mission to Moscow in 1942, Vice-Chairman of the United States War Production Board, William B. Dill, reported:

I went with a somewhat uncertain feeling about the Russians' ability to stand up to an all-out war; I became convinced very quickly, however, that the entire population was in the fight to the last woman and child.

I went rather doubtful of the Russians' technical skill; I found them extraordinarily hardheaded and skillful at running air factories and turning out the machines of war.

I went very much perplexed and troubled by accounts circulated here of disunity and arbitrariness in the Russian Government; I found that Government strong, competent and supported by immensely popular enthusiasm.

In a word, I went with a question to be answered: is Russia dependable, competent ally? . . . And my question was answered for me in a ringing affirmative.

The third great realization was that the multinational peoples of the Soviet Union were united behind their government with a patriotic fervour unique in history.

At Quebec, on August 31, 1943, Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared concerning the Soviet Government and its leadership:—

No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler on Russia. . . . Russia has not only survived and recovered from those frightful injuries but has inflicted, as no other force in the world could have inflicted, mortal damage on the German army machine.

The fourth great realization was that the alliance of the Western democracies with Soviet Russia open up the realistic promise of a new international peace and security among all peoples.

On February 11, 1943, the *New York Herald Tribune* stated in an editorial:—

There are but two choices before the democracies now. One is to co-operate with Russia in re-building the world—as there is an excellent chance of doing it, if we believe in the strength of our own principles and prove it by applying them. The other is to get involved in intrigues with all the reactionary and anti-democratic forces in Europe, the only result of which will be to alienate the Kremlin.

In New York City on November 8, 1943, the Chairman of the United States War Production Board, Donald Nelson, reported on his visit to Soviet Russia:—

I have come back from my journey with a high faith in the future of Russia, and in the benefit which that future will bring

to the entire world, including ourselves. So far as I can see, once our victory is won and we have put this war behind us, we shall have nothing to fear except suspicion of each other. Once we are working in collaboration with the other United Nations to produce for peace and to raise the living standards of peoples everywhere, we shall be on our way toward new levels and prosperity and greater human satisfactions than we have ever known.

On December 1, 1943, at the historic Conference of Teheran, the answer was given to the anti-democratic and anti-Soviet conspiracy which for twenty-five years had kept the world in an incessant turmoil of secret diplomacy, counterrevolutionary intrigue, terror, fear and hatred, and which had culminated inevitably in the Axis war to enslave humanity.

The leaders of the three most powerful nations on earth, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the United States of America, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Marshal Joseph Stalin of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, met together for the first time and after a series of military and diplomatic conferences issued the Declaration of the Three Powers.

The Declaration of Teheran guaranteed that Nazism would be wiped out by the united action of the three great allies. More than that, the Declaration opened up to the war-torn world a perspective of enduring peace and a new era of amity among the nations.

The Teheran Accord was followed by the decisive Crimea Decisions of February, 1945. Once again the three statesmen, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin came together, this time at Yalta in the Crimea, where they agreed upon their joint policies for the final defeat of Nazi Germany and the complete elimination of the German General Staff. The Yalta discussions looked forward to the period of peace that was to come, and laid the groundwork for the epoch-making United Nations Conference at San Francisco at which the Charter of a world security organization, rooted in the alliance of the three greatest powers, was to be promulgated in April.

On the eve of the San Francisco Conference, on April 12, 1945, Soviet Russia lost a great friend and the whole world lost a great democratic leader: President Franklin Delano Roosevelt died. President Harry S. Truman, immediately on taking office, pledged himself to carry on the war against Axis aggression to a victorious conclusion in alliance with other members of the United Nations, and to fulfil Roosevelt's postwar program for lasting peace in firm accord with Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

On May 8, 1945, the representatives of the German High Command, in the presence of the chief American, British and Soviet generals, signed in ruined Berlin the final act of unconditional surrender of the forces of the Nazi Wehrmacht. The war in Europe was concluded. Winston Churchill, in a message to Marshal Stalin, said: "Future generations will acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as un-

servedly as do we who have lived to witness these proud achievements."

No war in history had been fought so fiercely as the war between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. For one thousand, four hundred and eighteen days, forty-seven months, four years, battles of unprecedented scope and violence raged on the gigantic battlefields of the stern front. The end came on May 2, 1945, when armored troops of the Red Army stormed and captured the heart of the Nazi citadel Berlin. An anonymous Red Army man hoisted the Red Flag over the Reichstag.

The flags of freedom flew everywhere in Europe*

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Peace or War?

THE NEW CRUSADE

The cost to mankind of the Second World War was incalculable. Twenty million men had died in battle. Tens of millions of men, women and children had perished by starvation and disease, and in Nazi concentration camps and death chambers. Millions were homeless. Cities once world-famed for their beauty lay in powdered rubble. The cultural wealth of centuries had vanished in flame and ashes. Countless factories, mines and mills were shapeless ruins. Vast areas of rich farming land had been transformed into barren deserts. In the wake of the war stalked famine, plague, misery and mass impoverishment.

And this colossal suffering and loss for humanity as a whole had largely stemmed from the intrigue and hostility, the prejudice and propaganda, the secret and open warfare deliberately engendered by reactionary forces against Soviet Russia since the Revolution of 1917. For this great conspiracy had never been directed solely against the Soviet people. It had always, simultaneously, been directed against the democratic aspirations of the peoples of all lands. It had nurtured Fascism into being. It culminated inevitably in the Second World War.

If any single lesson were to be learned from the war, it was that

The Anglo-American war in the Far East, against the third partner of the Axis, Imperial Japan, continued. Here, too, Soviet Russia showed its length and its identity of interest with the democratic cause. Throughout the period when the Red Army was battling the Nazi Wehrmacht in the West, the Far Eastern Red Army continuously immobilised a massive Japanese army, reportedly composed of more than 500,000 of the best mechanized troops at Tokyo's command, on the Manchurian border. On August 9, 1945, the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan, thus fulfilling a pledge made at the Yalta Conference in January, 1945, to enter the Far Eastern war within ninety days after the defeat of Nazi Germany. Following the Soviet war declaration, and the American atomic bombing of two Japanese industrial centres, the Japanese Government capitulated and sued for peace. On September 2, Japan acknowledged her defeat and signed the act of unconditional surrender. East and West, the Second World War was over.

peace and security in the world depended upon friendship between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers no less than victory over the Axis had depended upon their fighting alliance.

Yet no sooner was the war ended than a sudden new upsurge of anti-Soviet propaganda and intrigue threatened the very foundations of the peace. . . .

Again, as after the First World War, the peoples of Europe were demanding the realization of their democratic goals; again the subject colonial peoples were reaching toward freedom and nationhood; and again, the forces of international reaction and imperialism rallied to maintain their own vested interests and to frustrate the peoples' aspirations. And once again, linked with the struggle against world democracy, a counterrevolutionary cry for war against "Bolshevist Russia" was heard.

Barely six months after the conclusion of the Second World War, Winston Churchill reassumed his role as chief herald of the anti-Soviet crusade. Following the overwhelming defeat of his Tory Party in England, and faced with the mounting crisis of British imperialist control of the colonial world, Churchill rediscovered the "menace of Bolshevism." In a widely publicized speech delivered at Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, and addressed to the American people, Churchill called for an anti-Soviet alliance between Great Britain and the United States against "the growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization" of Russian Communism.

In America and Britain the anti-Soviet campaign was again under way. Fear of a third world war gripped the peoples of the world.

Speaking in the United States Senate on March 20, 1946, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida forcefully warned of the grim danger of another war. The Soviet Union had particular reason to fear war. In the words of Senator Pepper:

Denied the atomic bomb, denied warm-water outlets, denied the common courtesy of economic negotiations with her greatest ally, believing that her philosophy is such that she will never be accepted by nations dominated by cartelists, reactionaries, or Russophobes, Russia is beset with many fears. . . .

Russia knows what war is. Hence her fear is not imaginary. It grows out of anguish and suffering. It rises from the smoking, battered ruins of her devastated areas, from the 15,000,000 men, women and children—50 times our losses—she lost in this war from the 25,000,000 whom that war left homeless and starving, from all those who went hungry, poorly clothed, and wretchedly housed, to defeat those enemies who with fierce barbarity and unspeakable atrocity invaded her soil and attacked her people. . . .

Russia's fear is aggravated by her memory of the past. She remembers the summer of 1919, when the armies of 15 nations, including Britain, France, China, the United States, Germany, and Japan were waging war against the new Soviet Union upon Soviet soil. . . .

Russia remembers the Red-baiting, the articulated and open conspiracy against her among the major capitalistic powers of the world, which went on after foreign military forces were withdrawn or driven from the Soviet Union, and the long period when she was feared and hated by all and recognized by none. . . .

She remembers how Hitler was built up against her and how she was denied an invitation to Munich, where it was made virtually certain that Hitler would strike her.

She remembers the German-Japanese-Italian conspiracy to destroy Russia under the hypocritical pretence of the Anti-Comintern Pact, and that no nation of strength and power protested against such proposed aggression. . . .

Senator Pepper stressed the danger of Churchill's proposed Anglo-American alliance against Russia:

The United Nations Organization is wrecked if two of the Big Three under the cloak of the United Nations Organisation form another *cordon sanitaire* around the third of the big trinity. . . .

What then, is the way out of the crisis of fear? And how can the United Nations Organization and the peace be saved?

I venture to suggest that the only way is to carry out the grand conception of Franklin Delano Roosevelt who, more than any other, is responsible for the United Nations Organization, and to re-establish the unity of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, and to bring about a whole new mental and spiritual attitude on the part of these powers toward peace and plenty.

But among those statesmen responsible for formulating the foreign policies of the United States, the words of Senator Pepper went unheeded. During the ensuing months, instead of lessening, anti-Soviet agitation increased, and world tension grew. By the spring of 1947, just two years after the first conference of the United Nations, certain prominent Americans were already calling for the launching of an immediate war against the Soviet Union.

Speaking before the House Un-American Activities Committee on March 24, 1947, George H. Earle, the former Governor of Pennsylvania who had served overseas in various diplomatic posts, advocated that if the Soviet Government should fail to accept terms imposed by the U.S. Government for atomic energy control, atom bombs should be dropped on Russia. "Immediately?" asked Representative J. Parnell Thomas, "Immediately," answered Earle.

Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 31, 1947, Representative Fred L. Crawford of Michigan proposed that the United States Government issue an ultimatum to the Soviet Government demanding they immediately scuttle their weapons of war and stating that, in the event of their failure to do so, the American airforce would start dropping atomic bombs on Soviet cities. Conceding the Russians might choose to fight rather than

disarm under such terms, Representative Crawford observed that the issue must be faced "now or in a few months anyway." He added:—

Take our spokesmen and tell them to shove their chins right up against the chins of Mr. Molotov, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Vyshinsky. Tell them to shove their stomachs right up against the stomachs of these gentlemen, physically, and say this is our programme: either disarm or we proceed.

On April 1, 1947, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, President of the Eastern Airlines, told the Connecticut Legislature that World War III "must absolutely come to pass" unless Russia were swept by "an internal revolution." Captain Rickenbacker declared that "if we're to be sure of peace for fifty years to come," it was imperative that the Soviet Government be overthrown by a revolution "either passive or bloody."

Not since the hysterical fulminations of Adolf Hitler had the world heard such bellicose threats against the Soviet Union as were being voiced in the United States in the spring of 1947.

2. THE "GET TOUGH" POLICY

At the Crimea Conference of the Big Three in February 1945, when the concept of an international organisation for the maintenance of peace and security in the postwar world was first promulgated, it was recognised by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill that the prime requisite for its effective functioning was "the continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations."

Following Roosevelt's death, his frequent warnings against disunity among the United Nations were echoed by President Truman. Addressing the tenth and final plenary session of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, President Truman stated:

The forces of reaction and tyranny all over the world will try to keep the United Nations from remaining united. Even while the military machine of the Axis was being destroyed in Europe—even down to its very end—they still tried to divide us. They failed, but they will try again. They are trying now. To divide and conquer was—and still is—their plan. They still try to make one ally suspect the other, hate the other, desert the other. But I know I speak for every one of you when I say that the United Nations will remain united. They will not be divided . . .

But even as President Truman spoke, representatives of his own Administration had already embarked upon a course which would inevitably create disunity among the United Nations.

The first important dissension among the United Nations occurred at the San Francisco Conference itself. The issue of dispute was whether or not Argentina should be invited to join the Conference and become a United Nations member. The British and American delegates championed Argentina's cause. The Soviet delegate,

Vyasheslav Molotov, opposed the seating of Argentina.

Under the sponsorship of the newly formed Anglo-America bloc, Argentina became a member of the United Nations.

Nine months later, in February 1946, the Government of the United States made public an official report entitled *Blue Book On Argentina*, which conclusively proved with documentary evidence the "Nazi-Fascist character of the Argentine regime." Among other facts, the *Blue Book* established that members of the Argentine "military government collaborated with enemy agents for important espionage and other purposes damaging to the war effort of the United Nations," that "Nazi leaders, groups and organisations have combined with Argentine totalitarian groups to create a Nazi-Fascist state," that the Argentine Government had "protected the enemy in economic matters in order to protect Axis industrial and commercial power in Argentina," and that the Argentine Government had "conspired with the enemy to obtain arms from Germany."*

In leading the fight to secure United Nations membership for Argentina, the American and British Governments had pursued a course which represented a drastic departure from the most basic policy of the United Nations: the complete elimination of fascism in the world. In forcing Argentina's admission to the San Francisco Conference, instead of combating fascism, the American and British delegates had actually championed the cause of a fascist power. It was in this manner that a new policy of the Anglo-American Governments first manifested itself: the so-called "get-tough-with-Russia" policy.

In the months that followed, this new policy was to become the dominant orientation of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States.

Nowhere was this betrayal of the fundamental tenets of the United Nations more flagrantly demonstrated in the post-war period than in the policies pursued by the American and British Governments toward their recent arch-enemy, Germany.

The Potsdam and Yalta Agreements had specifically provided for the disbanding of all German armed forces, the punishment of those Germans responsible for atrocities and crimes against the peace, the elimination of Germany's war potential, and the complete denazification of the nation.

But these vitally important decisions of the Big Three were not carried out in the British and American zones of occupation in Germany

*On August 14, 1946, Dr. Santiago M. Peralto, the Argentine Minister of Migration, extended an official invitation in the name of his government to 1000 European fascist leaders and notorious Quislings who had settled in the Scandinavian countries to come and make their permanent homes in Argentina. According to Minister Peralto, his government was extending this invitation because in its opinion these fascist leaders represented "the elite" of Europe. Peralto added that his government hoped these fascists "elite" would marry Argentine men and women and thus "raise the racial stock" of Argentina.

Months after the unconditional surrender of the Nazi Wehrmacht, uniformed units of German troops totalling a force of almost half a million men were still intact in British-occupied German territory. At the same time, in the American zone of occupation, the United States Army was recruiting, equipped and arming thousands of fascist Polish, Yugoslavian and Ukrainian troops to serve in "labor services companies" and as "guards". On February 3, 1946, in a dispatch to the *New York Times*, Raymond Daniell reported: "In the American zone almost 17,000 displaced Poles are in the service of the American Army. Some 10,000 Yugoslavians have organised themselves into what they designate as the 'Royal Yugoslav Army' and have taken an oath of fealty to former King Peter." According to Daniell, "among Poles now wearing regular United States uniforms" there were troops who had fought against Russia with the German Army on the Eastern Front. "Most members of these service companies," wrote Daniel, "are as anti-Semitic and anti-Russian as any Nazi."*

The maintenance of fascist anti-Soviet military forces in Germany represented only one phase of an Anglo-American campaign to resurrect a reactionary Germany, as after the First World War, is a potential bulwark against the East. In the words of the Soviet Journal, *Red Star*, "The preservation of German cartels and monopolies, and fascist army units, are links in the same chain."

During the 1945 and 1946, Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on War Mobilisation of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, repeatedly warned that the German cartel apparatus, instead of being destroyed, was being deliberately rebuilt. Testifying before the Kilgore Committee in December 1945, Colonel Bernard Bernstein, former Director of the Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the American Military Government in Germany, declared that 87 per cent of I. G. Farben's industrial war machine was still intact.

On February 25, 1946, Russell Nixon, Colonel Bernstein's successor as Director of the Division of Cartels and External Assets, told the Kilgore Committee that the United States and Great Britain

*A similar situation existed in Italy, where a fascist Polish army-in-exile of 2000,000 men commanded by anti-Soviet General Wladislaw Anders was being maintained under the supervision of the British High Command and with expenses paid by the British Treasury. On February 4, 1946, Herbert Matthews cabled the *New York Times*: "The full story of what the Polish Second Corps is doing in Italy is an ugly one. The Poles are not only fully armed but are trained to precision and are manoeuvred constantly to be in prime condition to reconquer Poland or invade the Soviet Union."

Secret agents of General Anders' fascist Polish army were being regularly flown into Poland to carry out espionage and sabotage assignments, and to foment pogroms against the Jews. Fifth column bands organised and directed by those secret agents murdered more than 2,000 Polish citizens in 1945, including a number of outstanding liberals, trade unionists and Government officials. A number of Anders' spies and terrorists caught and tried in Poland by the Polish Government authorities, were found to be carrying British Intelligence identification papers.

were preventing the Soviet Union from participating in the search for Nazi assets in neutral countries. Soviet participation, declared Nixon, would "lay bare the Fascist or reactionary regimes in countries such as Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden and Argentina and would reveal all the elements of collaboration of certain interests in the Allied countries with these regimes." Confirming Colonel Bernstein's observation, Nixon reported that the German cartel apparatus was being deliberately maintained by the British and American occupation authorities.

Meanwhile, L. G. Farben stock rose on the Munich and Frankfurt Stock Exchanges, from 68 to 112½

In a radio address on May 1, 1946, former Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., vigorously denounced the policy being pursued toward Germany by the U.S. State Department. After stating that nothing was being done to eliminate Germany's war potential, Morgenthau observed:—

It is still not clear to me whether Mr. Byrnes intends to scrap the Allied programme of Quebec, Yalta and Potsdam . . . If it is Mr. Byrnes' intention to scrap the Potsdam pact . . . then I prophesy that we are simply repeating the fatal mistakes of Versailles, and laying the foundation of World War III.

On September 6, 1946, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes delivered a major address at Stuttgart, Germany, enunciating the new American policy toward Germany. Within the next four days, German industrial stocks on the Frankfurt exchange rose an average of 10 per cent., while bank stocks rose as much as 30 per cent. In a dispatch sent from Germany to the *New York Herald Tribune* on September 11, Edwin Hartrich reported:—

" . . . German business men and industrialists interpret the Byrnes speech to mean that America will virtually underwrite the recovery of at least the western zones of occupation. At the same time* they believe that America and Britain have definitely decided to build up western Germany as a balance against the Russian zone.*

*One of the most enthusiastic and outspoken supporters of the Byrnes policy was the German potash king and textile magnate, Arnold Reebberg. This was the same Reebberg who in the early 1920's had been General Max Hoffmann's closest confidante, had brought Hitler and Rosenberg together for the first time, and had been one of the chief financial backers of the Nazi Party. Following the Second World War, Reebberg, whose fortune had grown to an estimated 200,000,000 dollars during the Nazi regime, continued to live unmolested on his sumptuous estate on the shores of the Starnbergersee in the American zone of occupation. Periodically he published for distribution among key American occupation officials a private bulletin urging a British-French-German-American industrial and military alliance. On March 18, 1946, the Overseas News Agency reported, "Reebberg is waging an intense propaganda campaign for an Anglo-American war against the Soviet Union and for the re-creation of a powerful Germany." When interviewed in his palatial villa by American correspondents after the war, Reebberg inquired: "How's George?" When asked to whom he was referring, he blandly replied: "Why, George Marshall, your Chief of Staff. We used to be great friends in the old days."

From Madrid, Karl von Wiegand, the finest foreign correspondent, cabled that Gyrras speech was being hailed in Franco Spain as "the tombstone on the grave of the Potsdam and Yalta Agreements"

In January 1947, James B. Byrnes was replaced as Secretary of State by General George C. Marshall. American policy toward Germany, however, remained unchanged. At the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four held in Moscow during March and April, the newly appointed Secretary of State maintained an aggressive uncompromising attitude toward the Soviet Union in discussing the terms of the peace treaty to be signed with Germany.

On his return to the United States, Secretary Marshall related in a nation-wide broadcast that Stalin had personally expressed to him the hope that the treaty terms would ultimately be agreed upon through compromise among the Big Four. Marshall indicated that the United States Government was not inclined to wait for such a compromise. "Whatever action is possible," declared Marshall, "must be taken without delay."

A few days later, the meaning of Marshall's statement was elaborated upon by the Under-secretary of State, Dean Acheson. Substituting for President Truman in a speech before the Delta Council at Cleveland, Mississippi, on May 8, the Under secretary explained:—

We must push ahead with the reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia—Germany and Japan—on which the ultimate recovery of the two continents largely depends. We must take whatever action is possible immediately, even without full Four Power agreement, for a large measure of European, including German, recovery.

Exactly two years had passed since Berlin had fallen before the assault of the Red Army and the documents of surrender had been signed by the German High Command. Yet there was still no peace treaty with Germany. Technically, a state of war still existed between Germany and the United Nations

In the Far East too, despite Japan's defeat after a decade and a half of aggressive warfare, peace had not yet come. The spring of 1947 found China in the throes of a bloody civil war. And in China, as in Germany, the American get tough with Russia policy went hand in hand with support of the militarists and reactionaries.

Following Tokyo's surrender, the American Army in China had proceeded to train and equip forty Kuomintang divisions, numbering more than 700,000 men.* In addition, 50,000 Kuomintang police troops were trained and equipped by American officers, and twenty-seven military establishments, including five schools for training air force personnel, were organised in China under the supervision of American military advisers. With Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek waging a campaign of ruthless warfare to suppress the democratic

*This was twice as large a Chinese force as the American Army had trained and equipped during the entire period of World War II.

forces in China, the United States Army and Air Force transported 480,000 of his troops to North China and Manchuria. The air transport alone of these troops involved and expenditure of \$300,000,000. More than \$600,000,000 in loans was granted to Chiang Kai-shek for the purchase of American surplus arms from the Pacific Islands. By 1947 the total value of war material and other aid given by the United States Government to the Kuomintang regime amounted to \$4,000,000,000, a sum considerably in excess of American financial assistance to China throughout the period of war with Japan.

Events in China in the spring of 1947 provided a tragic confirmation of a speech made in the House of Representatives by Congressman Hugh DeLacy on November 26, 1945. Accusing the Truman Administration of deserting Roosevelt's policy in China, DeLacy declared that the new American policy had made "civil war unavoidable." DeLacy added:

If America now continues to lend its great power to the establishing of anti-Communist bases in North China that, too will have its own logic. And that logic is not of peace and self-government for all people. It is the logic of the most reactionary of American big businessmen, wanting unrestricted economic exploitation of Asia.

It is the logic of dollar imperialism. It is the logic of a new world war, this time against the Soviet Union, launched from great bases in the Pacific, from a Japan whose militarists we have not yet rooted out, from anti-Communist bases in North China.

Returning from a visit to China, Frank Taylor, vice-president of the publishing house of Reynold and Hitchcock, warned, "We are turning China into a Spain of the next war!"

The grim paradoxical aftermath in China of the Second World War was duplicate in key Pacific Islands liberated from the Japanese. In the East Indies, British and Dutch troops violently suppressed the Indonesian independence movement, with the aid of American supplies. In the Philippines, Manuel Roxas, a former member of Tokyo's puppet Philippine Government, was elected President with American support, and proceeded, with funds and war supplies placed at his disposal by General Douglas MacArthur, to launch a military campaign against the Philippine anti-fascist resistance movement. In South Korea, former Korean Quislings who had collaborated with the Japanese were placed in key government posts by the American occupation authorities, and harsh repressive measures were taken against progressives and trade unionists.*

Throughout Asia and Europe, as the get-tough-with-Russia policy

*When a delegation of the world Federation of Trade Unions visited Korea in the spring of 1947, Korean workers who handed them welcoming leaflets were promptly beaten into insensibility by uniformed Japanese guards. The delegation cancelled its tour of South Korea after two days in that region. "In South Korea," a member of the delegation subsequently reported, "we saw fascism in action. Korean unionists were beaten before our eyes, and the delegation itself was insulted and threatened."

was intensified during the post-war period, the forces of reaction and fascism received increasing encouragement and support from the Government of the United States. At the same time, an attitude of open hostility, accompanied by heavyhanded economic and diplomatic pressure, was displayed by the Truman Administration toward popular democratic movements unleashed by the smashing of the Axis.

3. THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

On March 12, 1947, the get-tough-with-Russia policy reached an historic climax. On the day, after elaborate promotional preparations and behind-the-scenes conferences with key members of the Republican and Democratic Parties, President Truman appeared before the United States Congress to deliver a momentous address requesting a loan of \$400,000,000 to the Greek and Turkish Governments. The acknowledged purpose of the loan, although it was not specifically mentioned as such by Truman, was to help halt "Soviet expansionism" and the spread of "Bolshevism" in Europe.

In his speech the President stated that the British Government, "which has been helping Greece," would be unable to continue its aid, and that the United States was the only "nation willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government," whose very existence was threatened by "the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists."*

Although Truman did not stipulate the exact uses to be made of the loan, he asked the Congress to authorise the sending of "military personnel to Greece and Turkey" and to make provision for "the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel."

Nowhere in his speech did President Truman mention the Soviet

*Following the defeat of the Nazis, the British Army assisted Greek reactionaries in the suppression of the anti-fascist resistance movement and the establishment of a monarchistic government in Greece. The character of this Greek Government was graphically indicated in a dispatch sent to the New York Herald Tribune on September 16, 1946, by the foreign correspondent, Seymour Freidin, who had just completed a tour of Greece with a group of British and American journalists. Freidin reported that the favourite slogan of Greek Government officials was: "Democracy is the same as murder." Because of the widespread opposition to the monarchy, related Freidin, the Greek Government was conducting a campaign of violent terror against the population and "cutting entire communities off from food, wrecking the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's anti-malaria program and consigning thousands of innocent women and children to exile or prison." In the northern sections of Greece, Freidin and the other correspondents saw concentration camps containing only old men, women and children. The correspondents learned that these helpless people were being given no food, were being deliberately starved in order to force their young menfolk — who were anti-fascist partisan fighters — to come out of the hills and give themselves up to be shot.

On April 20, 1947, William L. Shirer wrote in an article in the New York Herald Tribune: "Who really are these Greek guerillas Mr. Truman wants us to help stamp out? They sprang up originally as a patriotic resistance movement against the Germans." Shirer added that the punitive troops of the Greek monarchy to be aided by the Truman program were former Quislings. "These singular Greek battalions were used by the Germans to burn villages and track down patriotic Greeks."

Union. But the *Chicago Daily News* characterised Truman's proposal as "an open invitation to war" with Soviet Russia.

On March 13, Henry Wallace, the former Vice-President of the United States spoke over a nation-wide radio hook-up in answer to President Truman's proposal. Wallace declared:—

It is not a Greek crisis that we face, it is an American crisis

If aid to the people of the world is our objective, why did the President and the Congress allow the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to die? Why are we doing so little to help the million displaced persons without homes in Europe?

How does support given to the undemocratic governments of Greece and Turkey aid the cause of freedom? . . . Turkey is a nation which fought against us in the first World War and which in this war refused to help the United Nations. Turkey fattened herself off the Germans and the Allies . . . Turkish neutrality lengthened the war by months.

One year ago at Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill called for a diplomatic offensive against Soviet Russia. By sanctioning that speech Truman committed us to a policy of combating Russia with British resources. That policy proved to be so bankrupt that Britain can no longer maintain it. Now President Truman proposes we take over Britain's hopeless task . . .

Wallace solemnly warned that Truman's proposal represented a disastrous abandonment of Roosevelt's policies and constituted a grave threat to the peace of the world:—

When President Truman proclaims the world-wide conflict between East and West, he is telling the Soviet leaders that we are preparing for eventual war.

No one wants war. If war comes one day, it will be because we have failed to think on the scale required for peace. Roosevelt thought on that scale. He foresaw generations of peace and plenty. Two years later President Truman asks us to look forward to generations of want and war. President Truman has summoned in a Century of Fear. I say that can be the century of the fulfilment of the American dream.

In England a familiar voice spoke out in jubilant approval of the newly enunciated Truman Doctrine. It was the voice of Winston Churchill. In a lengthy statement, featured early in April in the United States, in two special articles in *Life* magazine and the *New York Times* the former British Prime Minister exultantly declared that Truman's proposal represented a complete vindication and endorsement of the anti-Soviet measures he himself had advocated one year before at Fulton, Missouri, and of the policies that his Government had previously pursued in suppressing the anti-fascist movement in Greece. "On Greek affairs in 1944-5," commented Churchill, "I seemed to find myself out of step. But to-day it seems I was pursuing the exact policy which, little more than two years later, the

United States had adopted with strong conviction. This is to me a very intense satisfaction."

Despite vigorous opposition in the Senate to the President's proposal and a fight led by Senators Claude E. Pepper and Glen H. Taylor to place Greek aid under the supervision of the United Nations, a bill to extend a loan of \$400,000,000 to the Greek and Turkish Governments was passed on April 22, 1947, by a vote of 67-23.

On May 9, after days of heated debate, the House of Representatives passed a similar bill authorising the loan to Greece and Turkey. Describing the passage of the bill, the *New York Times* reported:—

In the midst of oratorical drumfire that the programme consisted of "an undeclared declaration of war" and would be so constructed by the Soviet Union, Representative Chester E. Mallow, Republican, of New Hampshire, issued a challenge.

"If Russia takes it as such," said Mallow . . . , "let her make the most of it If this action is going to persuade Russia to fight, there is nothing we can do about it."

As after the First World War, the crusade against Bolshevism in 1947 was not motivated by purely political considerations. In 1918, the desire of the Allies to gain control of Russia's vast natural resources had been a major factor in inspiring the war of intervention; in 1947, certain American interests urging the establishment of bastions against "Bolshevism" on the shores of the Mediterranean were magnetised by the fabulous riches of the Middle East. In the halls of Congress and the corridors of the State Department, there sounded a ghostly echo of the voice of Boris Savinkov: "Here one smelt the odor of petroleum."

"The center of gravity of world oil production," stated a 1944 report of the United States Department of Interior, "is shifting from the Gulf-Caribbean area to the Middle East—to the Persian Gulf area."

By the time the Second World War ended, Americans concerned had manoeuvred into a dominant position in financing and controlling the oil production of the Middle East. "Saudi Arabia, richest of all in oil potential," reported the *New Republic* on March 24, 1947, "is an entirely American show, and therefore the crux of U.S. interests in the Middle East." From King Ibn Saud the Arabian American Oil Company had obtained oil rights to 440,000 square miles of Saudi Arabia, a region conservatively estimated to hold reserves of 20 billion barrels of oil, an amount exceeding the total known reserves of the United States. Twenty thousand barrels of oil a day were pouring out from the American installation at Dhahran in the spring of 1947, providing a daily royalty of \$40,000 to King Ibn Saud. In April, 1947, the Arabian-American Oil Company let contracts for the construction of a \$100,000,000 Trans-Arabian pipeline to the Mediterranean.

Commenting on President Truman's speech to Congress request-

le loan to Greece and Turkey, the March 24, 1947 issue of magazine observed:

he loud talk was all of Greece and Turkey, but the whispers and the talk were of the ocean of oil to the south.

s the U.S. prepared to make its historic move, a potent group U.S. oil companies also came to an historic decision. With tacit approval of the U.S. and British Governments, the companies concluded a series of deals—biggest ever made in blue-chip game—to develop and put to full use this ocean oil.

tandard Oil Co. (N.J.), world's biggest oil company, was the aral leader of the group; as Standard's international minded sident, Eugene Holman, was the one who had a big hand in fting the breath-taking plans. Jersey Standard and its part-s were going to spend upwards of \$300,000,000 in the stormy lde East to bring out the oil.

e headlines of the feature article in *Business Week* on March ad: "New Democracy, New Business; U.S. Drive to Stop unism Abroad Means Heavy Financial Outlays for Bases, and Reconstruction. But in Return, American Business is l to Get New Markets Abroad."

ording to Ralph Henderson, the financial editor of the *New World-Telegram* the Truman Doctrine provided "a safeguard ivestments which was not hitherto so well defined . . . All of s a much safer and profitable state of affairs for investors. It od news of a fundamental character."

/MITHER AMERICA?

ly in April of 1947, Henry A. Wallace, whose outspoken criti-of the Truman Doctrine had been largely suppressed in the ican press, left the United States by transatlantic plane to a hasty speaking tour of key European centers. Before huge nces in England, France and the Scandinavian countries, the er Vice-President of the United States warned that Truman's sal to aid Greece and Turkey was actually a commitment "to to aid every dictator who hoists the anti-Communist Skull and s," and that America was being directed along a course of less imperialism" reaching "from China to the Mediterranean rom pole to pole." The "25,000,000 Americans who voted for evelt still live and work in America," declared Wallace, but the ol of the United States Government was now in the hands of who believed that the United Nations organization was "doomed significance." Repeatedly Wallace called for a return to the es of Roosevelt and stressed the imperative need, if there to be any peace in the world, for the re-establishment of lly working relations between the United States, Great Britain he Soviet Union.

the United States, Wallace was called a "traitor" to his coun- "I think his speeches in Europe clearly indicate that they have cleared with Joe Stalin," declared Representative L. Mendel

Rivers of South Carolina. On April 14 a group of members of the House of Representatives demanded that Wallace's passport be immediately revoked, and that the former Vice-President be arrested and prosecuted for his activities and utterances overseas. Speaking in the name of the House Un-American Activities Committee, its chairman, Representative J. Parnell Thomas, stated that the Logan Act of 1799, a law prohibiting private individuals to influence officials of foreign governments regarding American policies, "covered Wallace like a cloak." Another committee member, Representative John E. Rankin, read the Logan Act to the House, and called for its immediate enforcement against Wallace by the Department of Justice. . . .

Commenting on these reactions to his European tour, Wallace observed that their tone implied the existence of an actual "state of war" . . .

The Truman Doctrine which was aiding reaction and fascism overseas in the name of a crusade against Bolshevism produced its inevitable counterpart on the homefront. Side by side with a growing war hysteria, a campaign of unprecedented reaction was mounting in the United States. Not even in the days of the notorious Palmer raids, which accompanied the frenzied anti-Communist drive following the First World War, had there been such an intensive, widespread assault on the political, economic and civil rights of American citizens.

More than two hundred anti-labor bills were pending in the United States Congress. Numerous State Legislatures were passing bills restricting the economic and political rights of their citizens. Witch-hunts against progressive professors and students were taking place in colleges and universities throughout the country. The Fair Employment Practices Commission had been discontinued, and the Wagner Labor Act rendered practically impotent. The far-reaching democratic gains achieved by the American people under the historic leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt were vanishing one by one in the spring of 1947.

History was repeating itself. In America, as in Europe during the tragic 1930's democracy itself was being undermined under the pretext of saving the country from Communism, and protecting the nation against "Bolshevik aggression". . . .

One of the leading agencies in the anti-Soviet drive in the United States in 1947 was the House Committee on un-American Activities.

Nominally, the Chairman of the Committee was Representative J. Parnell Thomas, a former member of the Dies Committee. Actually, the Committee was functioning under the supervision of its most

ferous member, Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who responsible for the Committee's existence*

In the opinion of Congressman Rankin, who had been regarded by official Nazi propaganda agency *Welt-Dienst* (World Service) as an "outstanding American", and who himself had characterized the end World War as part of an "international Jewish plot," the enemy of the United States right along had not been the Axis or the Soviet Union . . .

Under Rankin's leadership, the House Un-American Activities Committee launched an intensive anti-Soviet propaganda campaign in the months following the conclusion of the war. In an incessant stream of lurid press releases, "official reports" and public statements from its members, the Committee proclaimed that "Soviet imperialism" was plotting world domination, that the Red Army was already waging up plans for the invasion of the United States, and that a Kremlin-directed network of saboteurs and atom bomb spies honeycombed the United States. Trotskyites, fascists, Communist renegades and other inveterate enemies of the Soviet Union appeared as "expert witnesses" before the Committee hearings and told utterly un-

In the autumn of 1944, it seemed that the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee was finally about to disappear from the American scene. Three Committee members had been defeated at the polls, the Chairman Martin Dies had announced he would not seek re-election. The end of the Committee appeared to be at hand. But on January 3, 1945, during the first hour of the opening session of the 79th Congress, Representative John E. Rankin, in a surprise legislative coup, effected the passage of a bill by a vote of 207-186 converting the Committee into a permanent body. Since August 1938, under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, the Committee had carried on a ceaseless propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union, and had provided a forum for the anti-labor, anti-democratic and anti-Soviet fulminations of fascists, ex-convicts, labor spies and racketeers. Among the "expert witnesses" who had testified before the Dies Committee were: Alvin Karpis, who on the second day of his testimony was sentenced to a district of Columbia Court to two years imprisonment for the crime of larceny; Peter Innes, a labor spy expelled from the National Maritime Union for stealing \$500 from the union treasury, who was subsequently sentenced to eight years imprisonment for the rape of a small child; William Gupton, an organizer of strong-arm squads for attacking trade unions; and Richard Krebs, alias Jan Valtin, who had served thirty-nine months in San Quentin penitentiary, and who in his book, *Out of the Night*, explained his former membership in the Gestapo on the grounds that he was coming into its activities.

Pro-Axis elements in the United States enthusiastically supported the work of the Dies Committee. Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund, told newspaper reporters, "I am in favor of it (the Committee) being appointed again, and I wish them to get more money." The Nazi agent, George Westover Viereck, said: "I have the highest respect for the Dies Committee. I sympathize with its program." William Dudley Pelley, the head of the Silver Shirts, stated: "I founded the Silver Shirts . . . to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and his Committee are engaged in prosecuting right now."

Former Representative Samuel Dickstein charged "110 fascist organizations in this country have the key to the back door of the Un-American Activities Committee." The *New World*, the official organ of the Chicago diocese, observed during the episcopacy of the late Cardinal Mundelein: "If it is really a Committee to investigate un-American activities, it should begin with an investigation of itself."

substantiated hair-raising tales of Soviet war preparations against America.**

On March 24, 1947, the anti-Soviet ex-diplomat, William C. Bullitt, testified at the Committee hearings on congressional legislature advocating the outlawing of the American Communist Party.* Here are excerpts indicating the character of Rankin's questioning and Bullitt's testimony:

RANKIN: Is it true that they eat human bodies there in Russia?

BULLITT: I did see a picture of a skeleton of a child eaten by its parents.

RANKIN: Then they're just like human slaves there in Russia?

BULLITT: There are more human slaves in Russia to-day than ever existed anywhere in the world.

RANKIN: You said before that sixty percent of the members of the Communist Party here are aliens. Now what percentage of these aliens are Jews? . . . Is it true, Mr. Bullitt, that the Communists went into the southern states and picked up niggers and sent them to Moscow to study revolution? Are you aware they teach niggers to blow up bridges?

In his testimony Bullitt wholeheartedly endorsed the Truman Doctrine. "If Russia had the atomic bomb, it would already have been dropped on the United States," declared Bullitt. Referring to Soviet plans for "world conquest" and the "ultimate assault the Soviet Government plans to make on the United States," Bullitt stated that Stalin would not stop of his own accord but could only "be stopped."

The former Governor of Pennsylvania, George H. Earle, another witness before the Committee, warned that the Russians would have the atomic bomb "very soon." He added, "I don't think there is better than an even chance that 10 percent of us will be alive five years from today."

The spreading of such violent anti-Soviet propoganda, which was prominently featured in the press throughout the United States, was not the only function of the House Un-American Activities Committee. As the *New York Times* reported on January 1, 1947 the Committee had "an ambitious program of investigations covering

**When the anti-Nazi refugee and Communist, Gerhart Eisler, was named by the Committee in February 1947 as the "key Kremlin agent" in America, and was arrested on its recommendation by the FBI, the Committee's star witnesses against Eisler were: Ruth Fischer, who had been associated with the European Trotskyite movement; Louis Bundenz, a renegade American Communist; and William Nowell, a former labor spy, who had served as a confidential adviser to Gerald L. K. Smith, ex-Silver Shirts No.3228.

*In May, 1947, A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, warned that the anti-Communist campaign in the United States was "being deliberately inflamed by native American fascists to promote their own evil ends." In an article in his union's journal, Whitney declared: "If the fascists can keep the people busy discussing communism, their opportunity to crush democracy will be strengthened. We need to turn the guns of our national effort and publicity on eliminating American fascism which is responsible for high prices, anti-labor legislation, housing shortages, excessive profits, dwindling purchasing power, witch hunts!"

'communist' activities in many enterprises, including labor unions, education and motion pictures," and that "other objectives will be to expose and ferret out the 'Communist and Communist sympathizers' of the Federal Government."

But in 1947 the significant fact about the House Un-American Activities Committee was not that it was continuing what President Roosevelt had called its "sordid procedure". The significant fact was that in 1947 the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee had the official endorsement of the Chief Executive of the United States.

On March 22, President Truman issued an Executive Order calling for the investigation and removal of "disloyal Government employees." The Order covered 2,200,000 persons engaged in Government employment, and, according to an Associated Press dispatch, "could conceivably affect everybody in the executive branch from the President to the janitor in a small-town post office."

In his Order the President named those agencies to be relied upon for the investigation of Government employees. Among the agencies listed was "the House Committee on un-American Activities" . . . The American people did not want war. But in the spring of 1947 millions of Americans feared that a Third World War was imminent and inevitable. When the American Town Hall Meeting of the Air held its vast radio audience: "Does our foreign policy lead us toward peace or war?" seven out of ten responses declared that the policy of the United States Government was leading toward war. Yet everyone knew that war had taken on new and terrible meanings, and that no man, woman or child would be safe from the ghastly consequences of atomic warfare. Albert Einstein had estimated that in a global atomic war two-thirds of the population of the world might be wiped out. Ansley J. Coale, in his book *The Problem of Reducing Vulnerability to Atomic Bombs*, wrote that three atomic bombs were dropped on each of 200 medium-sized American cities, the casualties would total between 14 and 17 million dead, and 14 million wounded . . .

The question on everyone's lips was: How can we keep the peace? On April 9, 1947, Harold E. Stassen, Republican presidential candidate, met with Premier Joseph Stalin at the Kremlin in Moscow. Stassen asked the question which was uppermost in the minds of the American people. "I would be interested to know," he said, "if you think these two economic systems can exist together in the same modern world in harmony with each other?"

Of course, they can," replied Stalin. "If during the war they did cooperate, why can't they during the peace?"

However, Stalin went on to say, there must be not only the possibility for cooperation but also the desire for it:

It is necessary to make a distinction between the possibility of operating and the wish to cooperate. The possibility of cooperation always exists but there is not always present the wish to co-operate. If one party does not wish to co-operate then the result would be conflict and war . . . I want to bear testimony to

the fact that Russia wants to cooperate.
The Soviet leader added:

Let us not criticize mutually our systems. Everyone has the right to follow the system he wants to maintain. Which is better will be said by history. To cooperate one does not need the same systems. One should respect the other system when approved by the people. Only on this basis can we secure co-operation. . . . When we met with Roosevelt to discuss the question of war, we did not call each other names. We established cooperation and succeeded in defeating the enemy.

"Sitting there looking at Stalin," subsequently related Jay Coo banker and former Philadelphia Republican chairman, who accompanied Stassen on his trip to Europe, "I thought to myself, 'This be the man who has been called ogre and menace to the world. It was difficult to imagine him as such. I came away from Russia with the impression that Joseph Stalin and the Russian people: anxious for friendship with the United States. They recognize that must be peace in the world.'"

As the first edition of this book went to press, the authors interviewed the man with whose story this book begins: Colonel Raymond Robins. A few years ago, Colonel Robins retired from public affairs to live quietly on his 2000-acre estate at Chinesgut Hill, Florida, which he has deeded to the United States Government as a wild-refuge and agricultural experimental station. Colonel Robins has retained his "outdoor mind," his passionate concern for the welfare of the common man, his impatience with prejudice and greed, and keen interest in the nation whose birth amid the turmoil of revolution he personally witnessed.

Here is what Colonel Robins said:—

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"The greatest hour I shall ever know was to see the light of freedom from age-long tyrannies and oppressions in the eyes of the workers and peasants of Russia as they responded to the appeal of Lenin and other leaders of the Soviet Revolution.

"Soviet Russia has always wanted international peace. I knew that his great domestic program would be deflected if destroyed by war. The Russian people have always wanted peace. Education, production, exploitation of a vast and rich territory gage all their thoughts and energies and hopes. The greatest Matter of Foreign Affairs in our generation, Commissar Maxim Litvinov worked ably and steadily for collective security until the Anglo-French appeasement policies toward Mussolini and Hitler made collective security impossible.

"Soviet Russia exploits no colonies, seeks to exploit none. Soviet Russia operates no foreign trade cartels, seeks none to exploit. Stalin's policies have wiped out racial, religious, national and antagonisms within the Soviet territories. This unity and harmony of the Soviet peoples point the path to international peace."

